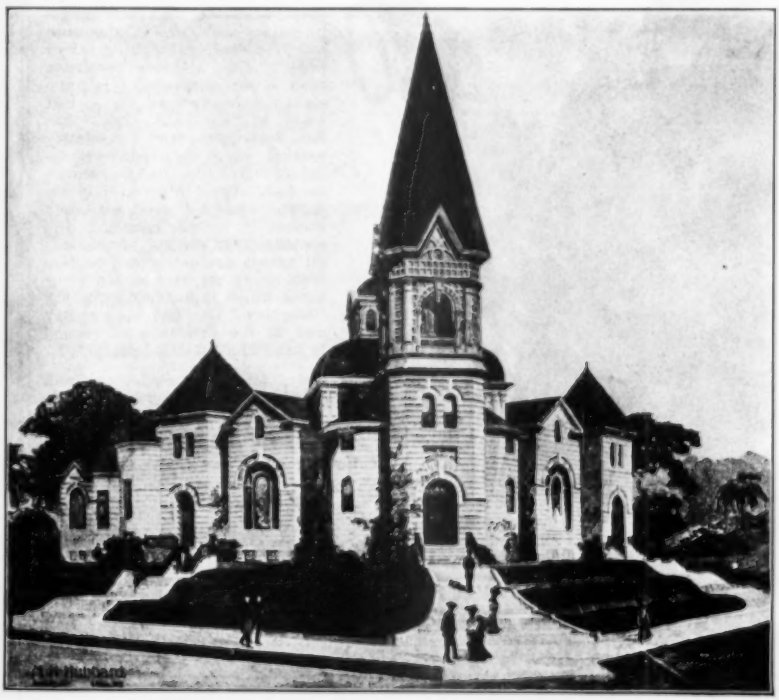
THE CRISIS

A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

Volume Four MAY, 1912 Number One

Church Number



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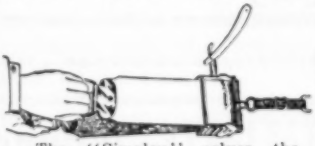

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THE CRISIS

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Published by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, at 20 Vesey Street, New York City.

W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, Editor
M. D. MACLEAN, Managing Editor
FRANK M. TURNER, Circulation Manager
ALBON L. HOLSEY, Advertising Manager

Contributing Editors: OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, J. MAX BARBER, CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL, W. S. BRAITHWAITE, KELLY MILLER

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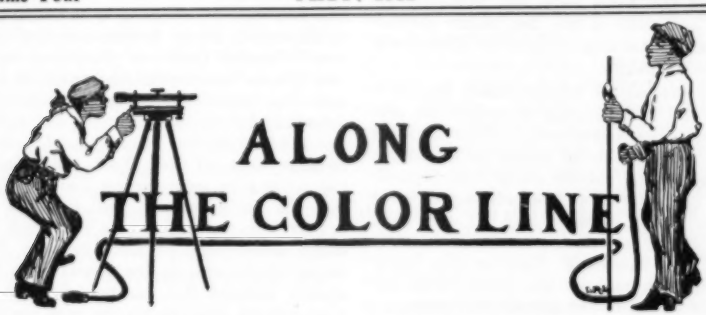


ALONG THE COLOR LINE

POLITICAL.

THE political situation among colored voters is even more complicated, if that is possible, than among white voters. Their attitude turns very largely upon local issues. The result of this is that particularly in the South the colored men, having been excluded from participating in the party councils four years ago by Mr. Roosevelt's "steam roller," are now espousing the Roosevelt cause as against the Taft "steam roller."

¶ The colored voters of Western and Central New York have organized a league of Republican clubs, with John W. Thompson, of Rochester, as president. Among other things, they object to the use of the word "Negro."

¶ In Pennsylvania an organization of colored men has been formed to support Roosevelt, with representatives in every county.

¶ In Washington five bishops of the Zion Church have signed the call supporting Roosevelt and declaring that Taft's Southern policies have been "the most cruel and degrading blow ever delivered the Negro by any President." The Rev. S. L. Corrothers, who has hitherto been prominent as a leader of colored Democrats, has taken charge of the colored Roosevelt campaign.

¶ In Maryland a poll made by the Baltimore *Times* is said to show that the Negroes are 25 to 1 for Roosevelt as against Taft. The colored people blame the recent advance of race prejudice, the Baltimore segregation scheme and lynching on President Taft's administration.

¶ The legislature of Delaware has apparently nullified the United States Constitution in the town of Georgetown by making qualified voters "of every white male citizen of said town who shall have attained the age of 21 years and is a taxpayer."

¶ The colored voters of Virginia have many grievances. In Norfolk County, for instance, there is a large majority of Negro voters, and prior to 1891 colored men filled many county offices. White Republicans and Democrats, by a fusion ticket, got rid of these officers, and since then, despite the efforts of the whites, it has been impossible to get any opposition ticket, so that there is simply one party government, with the Negro disfranchised.

¶ In West Virginia the Republicans of Fayette County have since 1902 given the colored people one representative in the legislature. Two years ago the "Lily White" movement got rid of the colored member, and the result was the Negroes threw their votes to the Independents and defeated the Republicans. This year a colored man seems likely to be nominated.

¶ The colored voters of Raleigh, N. C., have sent a contesting delegation to Chicago to support Roosevelt.

¶ Colored men were completely barred out of the Louisiana Republican convention. In New Orleans there are 49,131 registered white voters and 757 registered Negro voters. There are fully 25,000 colored men

of voting age in the city. Of the white voters, 654 registered under the "grandfather" clause.

¶ The colored men of Tennessee, who for the last few years have been regularly refused admission to the Republican convention, are demanding recognition strenuously in this campaign.

¶ In Arkansas the colored voters have their hands full in organizing to oppose the new disfranchising amendment. There are said to be 111,372 colored voters in the State, and the general election comes next September. The voters hold the balance of power on the liquor question and on the bond amendment, in which the 284,298 white voters are interested. Leagues are being organized throughout the State. The important clause in the amendment reads:

"Every male citizen * * * who is able to read and interpret, or interpret when read to him, if he is prevented from reading the same by reason of any physical disability, any section of the constitution of the State of Arkansas * * * shall be allowed to vote at any election in the State of Arkansas; but no person who was, on January 1, 1866, or at any time prior thereto, entitled to vote under the constitution or statutes of any State in the United States wherein he then resided * * * and no lineal descendant of such person * * * shall be denied the right to vote because of his inability to so read and interpret selections of the constitution of this State. * * * The judges of election shall enforce the provisions of this article and shall be the judges of the qualifications of electors."

¶ Several colored papers are voicing this political slogan: "Bury Roosevelt at the primaries and beat Taft at the polls!"

SOCIAL UPLIFT.

ON April 2 the United States Senate debated and finally passed the bill providing the sum of $250,000 for a Negro exposition in 1913 to celebrate fifty years of freedom. The bill as proposed by the committee of colored men was somewhat amended, but the essential features remained. The only opposition at the Senate discussion came from Senator Hitchcock, of Nebraska. He said that expositions degenerated into amusement parks; that a Negro exposition would be an example of drawing the color line, as colored men had every right in similar exhibitions undertaken by white men, and that it could not be of value to the race, since the colored man could "be benefited only by adhering to those precepts in life which bring success and merit success." Senator Smith, of Michigan, replied that it was "not beyond the realm of hope that the white man might be benefited somewhat by an exposition of the colored man's achievements, products and genius." Senator Root, of New York, said that he had never been more earnest than in urging that the Senate should avail itself of this opportunity "to lift a little the cloud that hangs over these people." Senator Newlands, of Nevada, in the course of a long speech, declared that hardly a Senator was more radical than he on the race question, that he believed this should be a country for the white race only and he believed in race intolerance, as it kept the races from mingling. He had been, in the beginning, opposed to the project of this exposition, but he had been so impressed by the statements and bearing of the Negro committee that he had concluded to vote for the measure. The two other members of the opposition who had received the committee, Senator Taylor, of Tennessee, and Senator Paynter, of Kentucky, had agreed with him in this matter.

Senator Lodge, of Massachusetts, said he had generally opposed appropriations for expositions, but he thought this one should be granted. Senator Bradley, of Kentucky, who introduced the bill, ridiculed the idea that colored men had equal rights with the whites in ordinary expositions and said that, instead of crushing black people, he would take them by the hand and say: "Come up here, higher into the atmosphere of freedom." Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, also made a speech of some length favoring the bill.

The discussion is printed in full in the *Congressional Record* for April 2. At the end of the Senate proceedings is a report of the hearing before the committee appointed to receive the colored delegates and the speeches of R. R. Wright, Sr., president of the Emancipation Exposition Committee; R. R. Wright, Jr., editor of the *Christian Recorder;* W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of THE CRISIS, and the Rev. I. N. Ross, pastor of the Metropolitan A. M. E. Church at Washington, are given in full.

¶ The editor of the *Lyric Year*, New York, has announced a prize competition for poems not exceeding 300 lines in length. The sum of $1,000, donated by a lover of poetry, will be paid in a first prize of $500 and in two second prizes of $250 each to the authors of the three poems selected by the judges, Mr. Edward J. Wheeler and Mr. William Stanley Braithwaite, a contributing editor of THE CRISIS, with the editor of the *Lyric Year*, from the 100 poems selected from all manuscripts submitted.

¶ Two striking cases of Negro heroism come to our attention this month. A dispatch from Greenville, Miss., says that a human dike composed of several hundred colored men kept the levee from being destroyed for an hour and a half until the sand bags arrived.

One of the men killed in the Jed mine, near Bluefield, W. Va., was Ted Swaley. A local daily paper says: "This name may not mean much to some people, but to the miners who recall the explosion at Farm on the first of last August it will mean a great deal. Ted Swaley was the hero of that explosion. Alone he worked his way through the confined workings of that new mine, and, crawling on his hands and knees, crept to where six unconscious men lay dying for need of help. One by one he rolled them on his back and dragged them to the bucket at the foot of the shaft, and then went to the surface with them. Assisted by John Moore, also colored, who carried a safety lamp, Swaley went back four times into the depths of the mine, and it was due to his courage and bravery that six men were taken out, five of whom came out alive. Swaley continued at mining, because it was the only trade he knew."

¶ The Negro lawyers of Oklahoma have formed a bar association, with forty members.

¶ Dr. A. B. Terrell, a colored man, has been made assistant physician to the board of health of Forth Worth, Tex. He is a graduate of the University of Chicago and of the Harvard Medical School, and has taken an active part in combating the epidemic of meningitis in Texas.

¶ A company of contractors who are building automobile engines in New York are developing a new ignition system which is the invention of a colored man.

¶ In Perry, Ind., Higby Morgan, a colored boy, has taken the W. C. T. U. medal for the best composition.

¶ A man named Kelly, who is doing a turn called "The Virginia Judge" on the stage, so angered the colored people of Montreal by his use of the word "Nigger" that he had to have police escort home.

¶ In Hutchinson, Kan., a jury composed entirely of colored men has been trying a case. Charles Fulton, deputy probate judge, remarked that he never saw a finer set of men on a jury than those six colored men, one of them a doctor, another a minister and a third a law student, and all of them men who have good education and character. It attracted a lot of attention, being a very unusual occurrence in Kansas legal circles.

¶ The Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes has been carrying on its protective work for women, organizing amusement and neighborhood clubs and securing employment. They have in mind a plan for a model dance hall, a detention home for girls and a summer playground in New York.

¶ The colored people of Cleveland are trying in vain to get the mayor to protect colored residence districts from organized vice.

¶ Nashville colored men are organizing an athletic association.

¶ A young colored men's club has been started in Keokuk, Ia.; another organized in Oklahoma City; and in Dayton, O., a home for working girls and a day nursery are planned.

EDUCATION.

COLORED teachers' associations have been meeting in Oklahoma, with an attendance of 350; at Selma, Ala., with 1,000 teachers; at Nashville, Tenn., with 400 teachers, and at New Orleans.

¶ Summer schools for colored teachers will be held at Institute, W. Va.; Durham, N. C.; Miles Memorial College, Ala., and Straight College, New Orleans.

¶ Every colored member of the board of education in the District of Columbia voted to dismiss Roscoe Conkling Bruce, the present assistant superintendent in charge of the colored schools. The white members voted to sustain him. It is suggested that this vote is indicative of the interests which Mr. Bruce serves.

¶ The Criterion Club is offering a scholarship to colored school graduates for study at Fisk University.

¶ The Robert Hungerford School, at Eatonville, Fla., is asking funds for a hospital and nurses' training school.

¶ The Institute for Colored Youth, at Cheyney, Pa., has celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary.

¶ Ward Hall, the largest dormitory of Western University, Quindaro, Kan., has been destroyed by fire. The loss was $50,000, but the building will be immediately replaced.

¶ Governor Blease of South Carolina sent the following message to the legislature:

"I disapprove of Item 2, Section 24, because I see absolutely no use, sense or reason in taxing the white people of this State to pay for a heating plant for Negroes to get up and dress by when the white children themselves, many of them, have to get up and make their own fires, and even in some of our schools.

"And for the same reason I disapprove Item 3, same section. This is $1,000 for repairing the heating plant at colored college."

In the discussion in the legislature which followed this veto it is reported that "Mr. Ashley made a severe arraignment of the legislature voting money for a heating plant for a lot of 'Niggers.'" He thought it outrageous to provide heating plants for Negroes when thousands of poor white children have to sit around fireplaces. The legislature, however, made the appropriation.

¶ The State of Maryland is asked to appropriate $600,000 for a new normal school for whites. It already has one at Frostburg which cost $40,000 a year. The colored State normal school, at Bowie, receives $5,000 a year. One-fifth of the population of the State is colored.

¶ In Elizabeth City County, Va., which contains the town of Hampton, there are 2,202 white children and 2,232 colored children. They are provided for as follows:

	White.	Colored.
Teachers	49	20
Cost of schools.....	$62,700	$5,000
Salaries of teachers...	23,343	4,041
School taxes assessed on taxpayers	24,000	4,000

In addition to this, $40,000 from fines and corporation taxes go wholly to the white schools.

¶ A. M. C. Russell, candidate for State superintendent of public instruction in Florida, has been favoring free textbooks for school children. He replies to an objection that this will mean free textbooks for colored school children by saying that the white school population exceeds the colored school population in thirty-eight counties. He then adds: "Shall this multitude of white children be deprived of the many advantages and benefits and their parents the great economy and money saving of the free-book system? We say not. Give every white child a chance.

"But what will be done for the white children in the counties where the Negroes outnumber them? For their protection and for the protection of all, we are in favor of the enactment of a law that will invest the county school boards with sufficient discretion to enable them to operate the free-book system so as to adapt it to local conditions."

¶ Mr. George Foster Peabody has resigned from the board of trustees of Tuskegee Institute.

ECONOMICS.

THE colored Masons of Alabama report that $75,949 have been received during the year. The Odd Fellows of Louisiana have paid $3,000 for a new building in New Orleans. The United Brothers of Friendship have erected a $20,000 building at Louisville, Ky. This order collected in Texas during the year $67,459. The Masons of Mississippi are reported to have spent $1,300,000 for endowment benefits, and have a balance of $19,000 on hand. The Odd Fellows of that State spent $507,000 in two years, and have a balance of $78,000 on hand.

¶ The treatment of Negro laborers by the Fertilizer Trust operating in North Carolina is a continual scandal. The Negroes have struck repeatedly in the last ten years, but have been intimidated by the sheriffs and police. One hundred and fifty struck last month at Wilmington, N. C., and were promptly arrested.

¶ Colored people pay taxes on nearly $1,000,000 worth of property in Savannah, Ga.

¶ A dispatch from Washington says that the Department of Agriculture is getting visible returns from its work among the colored farmers. There are 681 white demonstrators and 40 Negro demonstrators working for the department.

¶ Within the last two months there have been established by the colored people in Nashville, Tenn., a millinery store, a drug store and a theatre. There were already in operation two banks, two large publishing plants, four printing concerns, numerous drug stores, grocery stores, three undertaking establishments, shoe-shining and repairing shops, confection stores, ice cream and soda fountains. There is also a church supply company in the city, manufacturing everything from a hymn book to church altars of the finest make.

¶ New Negro towns are springing up continually in the South. University City has been planned in Oklahoma, so called because 30 per cent. of all the proceeds from the sale of lots is to go toward the building of a university. Fidelity, a new laboring colony, is to be opened near Houston, Tex., by white capitalists.

¶ Georgia colored people are now paying taxes on an assessed value of $34,022,379 worth of property. This is an increase of nearly $2,000,000 over last year, and represents a real value of over $60,000,000.

COURTS.

SEVERAL cases of discrimination have come before the courts recently.

In Norfolk, Va., a colored man is testing the segregation ordinance. In New York a colored servant in Flushing was accused of stealing and held as a prisoner in the house; afterward the mistress found her rings in a pill box, and the servant sued for damages. She lost her case. In Brooklyn Andrew Hubert recovered $150 as penalty against a keeper of an eating house who refused to serve him. In Boston W. W. Bryant had a bartender of Rich's Grill fined $25 for refusing to serve him.

CRIME.

THE record of lynching for the month is as follows:

At Fort Smith, Ark., a colored man was lynched for shooting a deputy constable; the police made no attempt to interfere, and a large part of the force has been dismissed on this account. At Marianna, Ark., three Negroes were killed by a young farmer on account of labor troubles and "insulting remarks." At Blacksburg, S. C., two Negroes were hanged for forcing a white man to drink whiskey and, as was alleged, for robbing him. At Olar, S. C., three Negroes were taken from officers and shot to death; they were accused of burning the mayor's home. It seems that the colored men had been working for the mayor and had quarreled with him. At Cochran, Ga., a conviet was lynched for killing a guard. At Shreveport, La., a colored man was killed for "insulting a white man." At Starksville, Miss., a colored man was lynched because a woman was frightened at seeing him approach. At Shelbyville, Tenn., one of the victims of the mob, which shot several prisoners, is dead; the Chattanooga *News* publishes details of the way in which the lynching was planned. A colored man in Hoisinger, Kan., who had wounded two white men, was lynched, and another stealing a ride on a train in Brook Haven, Miss., killed the officer who was trying to arrest him, and was himself shot to death. At Salisbury, Md., to prevent a lynching, a colored man accused of attacking a woman was sent to the penitentiary for ten years after a five-minute trial. In Birmingham, Ala., a man killed a Negro who was prowling about the window.

¶ There are the usual number of murders of Negroes by white men and officers: At Columbus, Ga., two men are held for severely whipping a Negro who had testified against them. At Middleburg, Md., a Negro was dragged at the rope end for becoming "impudent" when asked a question. At Benton, Ark., five men charged with killing a member of a Negro minstrel troupe were acquitted. Negroes have been killed by officers of the law at Hazelhurst, Ga., and Franklin, Tenn. White men were killed by Negroes at Atchison, Kan., and Roanoke, Va.

¶ Women and children are now aiding in lynching and murdering Negroes. A woman led a lynching mob in Jacksonville, Fla., but was unsuccessful. The man was accused of murdering a family. In Goldsboro, N. C., a 14-year-old boy killed an old Negro who owed him 5 cents. In Savannah, Ga., Samuel Simms, white and 10 years of age, killed a colored boy about the same age for kicking his dog.

¶ It is now charged that the assailant of the

prominent New York society woman, Mrs. Beach, at Aiken, S. C., was her husband, and not the "strange colored man," as accused.

¶ President Taft, in a speech to the alumni of Howard University, made his first declaration against lynching. He said: "It is not any less a murder because 400 men take part in it than because one man does. Ordinarily it is accompanied by a good deal more cowardice because 400 are in it instead of one. The only way by which it can be suppressed is that some time we shall have men as sheriffs and as governors and as prosecutors and as jurors who will see to it that the men who are engaged in pulling the rope under those conditions shall themselves swing by the rope."

MEETINGS.

AN anti-lynching meeting has been held in Boston. Darius Cobb, the artist, Albert E. Pillsbury, formerly attorney-general, and Bishop Walters took part.

¶ A general conference of social-service workers among the colored people of St. Louis was attended by 200 white and colored workers.

¶ Mr. George E. Haynes spoke before the Ethical Culture Association of New York, on "Problems of City Life Among Colored People."

¶ A conference on the application of industrial education to problems in Africa has been held at Tuskegee Institute.

THE GHETTO.

THE members of the Ohio Constitutional Convention have achieved a characteristic act of American courtesy. By a vote in which each member's name was carefully recorded, Mr. W. H. Lewis, Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, was asked to address the convention. On the next day, by an unrecorded viva voce vote, the invitation was rescinded.

¶ A wealthy Japanese druggist has been compelled by popular clamor to give up a piece of property which he had bought in a popular Sacramento, Cal., residence district.

¶ The Lincoln University Glee Club were booked to sing at the white Y. M. C. A., Westchester, Pa. When they arrived and found that the town had been placarded, "You must hear dem darkies sing," they went home without giving the concert.

¶ The following touching dispatch comes from Chattanooga: "A veritable sensation was unearthed here this afternoon when it was discovered that the bodies of white persons who died in the Hamilton County Poorhouse were being buried by G. W. Franklin, a Negro undertaker. The body of a white woman who died at the institution was found in the Negro's establishment in a rough pine coffin by charity workers this afternoon. Public sentiment is aroused."

¶ The various churches of Des Moines elect directors for the local Y. M. C. A. A colored attorney, S. J. Brown, represented a local colored church, and finding that he was not allowed to vote, left the meeting.

¶ A mass-meeting to protest against unjust discrimination in the Nurses' Training School at Los Angeles, Cal., has been held.

¶ Mr. Carnegie is considering a donation of colored libraries in Savannah and Muskogee. It is difficult, however, to get local city councils to promise appropriations.

¶ In New Orleans a white children's playground has been erected in the midst of the colored district. The superintendent is now threatening to arrest Negroes who loaf in the vicinity.

¶ The case of the right of colored people to use the name Knights of Pythias for a secret organization has been argued before the Supreme Court of the United States.

¶ A remarkable case came up at Oxford University lately. Malcolm Orr-Ewing and Mohammed El Abd were fined for fighting. El Abd testified that he went to a performance at the East Oxford Theatre. Orr-Ewing sat behind him, he said, and began calling him abusive names because he was a foreigner and was of a black complexion. The witness said he heard the words "You Nigger with the big cigar."

MUSIC AND ART.

A NEW concerto for violin has been composed by Mr. Samuel Coleridge-Taylor and will be heard for the first time at the Norfolk Festival, Norfolk, Conn., in June.

Mrs. Maud Powell, the distinguished American violinist who is to play the work,

says: "Its history has an interest of its own. Mr. Coleridge-Taylor agreed to furnish me a new concerto for last season's Norfolk Festival, and he did so. He sent me a work, dedicated to me, based on American Negro melodies. He is an extremely modest man, however, and perhaps my letter of thanks was not as warm as it might have been. At any rate, in the course of a month or two he wrote and asked me to return the concerto, that he had reconsidered it, and decided never to publish the work or to have it performed. He also said that he was writing a new work at white heat, which he would send me as soon as it was completed. I wrote him at the time to preserve the slow movement. And in the new concerto he has also incorporated the first theme of the other work. It is melodious music—like a bouquet of flowers. That is the comparison that comes to my mind."

At the festival two years ago, in June, Mr. Coleridge-Taylor conducted "Hiawatha's Wedding Feast" and "The Death of Minnehaha," which were presented by the Litchfield County Choral Union, in addition to conducting his latest orchestral work, "Bamboula Rhapsodic Dance," which was composed for the occasion and dedicated to Mr. and Mrs. Stoeckel.

¶ At the request of the influential citizens of Wellington, New Zealand, Mr. Hamilton Hodges, the American baritone who has settled in Auckland, has opened a large and finely equipped studio in Wellington for pupils in vocal training.

¶ On March 22, at the Howard Theatre, Washington, D. C., a saengerfest was given by the chorus of the Washington Conservatory of Music, conducted by Mr. Harry A. Williams, director of the vocal department.

¶ The Lucretia Mott Mothers' Club, composed of public-spirited colored women of West Medford, Mass., inaugurated this year a series of open meetings at which are given addresses on instructive topics supplemented by musical programs.

At the meeting in March Mrs. May Hallowell-Loud spoke on "Art in the Home," prefacing her address by interesting personal reminiscences and anecdotes of her great-grandmother, Lucretia Mott, the abolitionist, after whom the club is named.

¶ Mme. Anita Patti-Brown, coloratura soprano of Chicago, Ill., after a successful tour in Cuba, is being heard in concert throughout the State of Texas.

AFRICA.

A GREAT native college is to be established in South Africa, says the Sierra Leone *Weekly News*. £22,500 has already been subscribed in Europe and £17,500 by native Africans, leaving only £10,000 to be subscribed to complete the £50,000 required.

¶ Dr. Abdurahman, president of the African political organization at Cape Town, S. A., at the annual congress in Johannesburg condemned the oppressive character of recent and prospective legislation affecting the political rights of the colored population and the failure to meet their legitimate demands in regard to education.

¶ Mr. G. Debayo Agbebi, of Lagos, West Africa, recently graduated with high honors from the University of Birmingham, England, standing third in a class of fifty-seven. He has been elected a fellow of the Geological Society and a member of the Royal Sanitary Institute. Young Agbebi is a civil engineer and a nephew of Dr. Mojola Agbebi.

ASIA.

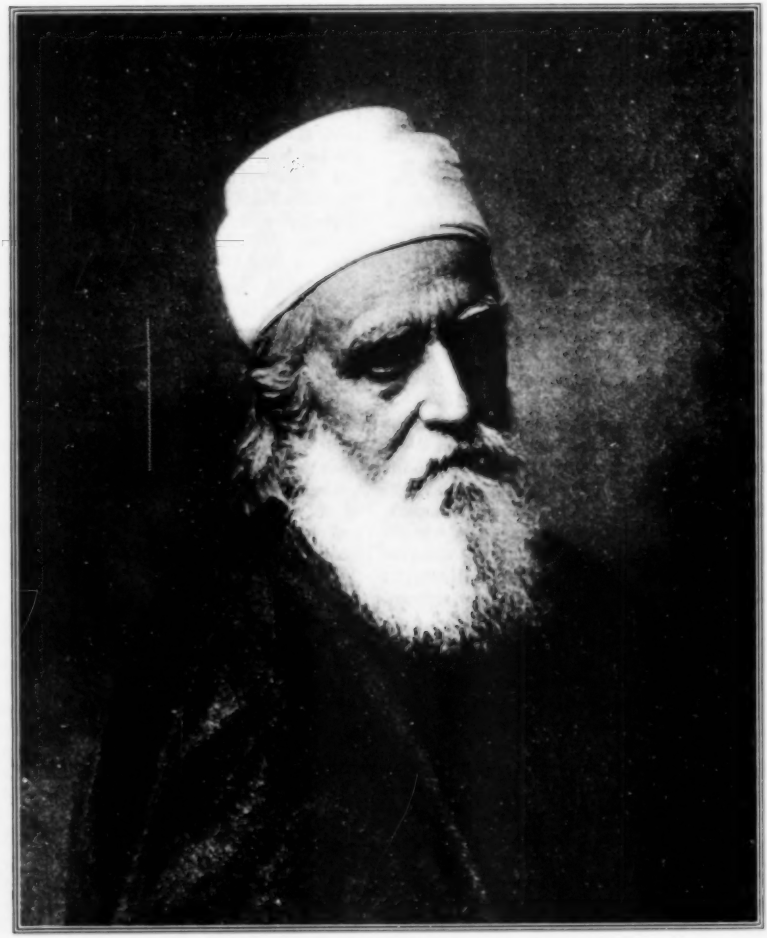
MR. KAWAKAMI, author of a recently published work on American-Japanese relations, counsels the abandonment of independent Japanese schools in Hawaii and on the Pacific Coast, for by fostering the Oriental language and culture they tend to retard the Americanization of the children and to arouse the suspicions of the Asiophobes.

¶ The Chinese Assembly has granted woman suffrage under the same educational and property qualifications as for men. Yik Yuk Ying, who has been called the Mrs. Pankhurst of China, has been elected to the assembly.

¶ The Argentine government has prohibited the landing of a shipload of East Indian immigrants.

¶ A Democratic bill for Philippine independence is now before the House of Representatives. The bill proposes to grant probationary independence to the islands for a period of eight years, beginning July 4, 1913. During this period the president of the islands would be appointed by the President of the United States and the United States would defend the islands against foreign invasion, and, upon request of the local government, against popular violence. In 1921 the Filipinos are to have full autonomy.

MEN OF THE MONTH



ABDUL BAHA, THE PERSIAN TEACHER OF BROTHERHOOD

A PERSIAN TEACHER.

ON April 12 Abdul Baha, the head of the religious movement known as Bahaism, arrived in America to visit his rapidly increasing band of followers. His coming is of particular interest to those of us who believe in the brotherhood of man, for that is the doctrine the Bahais emphasize above all other things. Because they have taught it, their first leader was put to death, their second died in prison, while Abdul Baha, their third head, has spent all his life, until a few years ago, in the Turkish prison at Acca, in Syria, the "new holy city" of the Bahais.

It is only seventy years since the movement of which he is the leader originated in Persia; to-day it numbers 10,000 disciples and is growing at an amazing rate. It is not, properly speaking, a "new religion." It does not ask a Christian to cease professing Christianity or a Mohammedan to give up his Mohammedanism. It does, however, demand that each person shall follow the spiritual truths of his religion, and it pays little attention to dogma.

The movement presents in many respects a striking parallel with the early growth of Christianity. Like Christianity, it began as a protest against the corruption of established, untolerant, unspiritual religion, and also like Christianity it drew on itself the most inhuman persecutions. The number of martyrs is estimated at about 50,000. They have been burned alive, beheaded, torn in pieces, hanged and tortured in all the ways official cruelty could devise. There has not been an instance of recantation. The records of the Bahais speak of the victims as "athirst for the draught of martyrdom," and it is indeed true that they died with songs on their lips.

There were persecutions and martyrdoms so recently as nine years ago, but the great time of trial was in the years 1848 to 1852, when the movement was beginning and the Persian government saw, in the growth of this enthusiasm for brotherhood, a menace to its arbitrary power. Perhaps twenty thousand men, women, and even children, died during these years of persecution.

It was in 1844 that a young Persian named Mohammed Ali began to preach a doctrine of simplicity and spirituality. He called himself "the Bab," which in Persian means "the gate." It was not uncommon for teachers to adopt this title, signifying that wisdom did not originate with them, but came from heaven, using them as the gate by which to approach humanity. The Bab was only 25 years old, but he soon won a large number of followers, so soon that the great persecution began when he had preached but four years.

The accusations brought against the followers of the Bab were very similar to those brought against the early Christians. They were charged with being "bad citizens," because they taught love to all men of all races, and of immorality, because they practised a kind of community of goods, like that of the early Christians.

The Bab found martyrdom in the course of time, being hanged from the wall of a prison and shot; so, in the words of the chronicle, did "that holy spirit escape from its gentle frame and ascend to the supreme horizon." But, like John the Baptist, he had continually spoken of someone to follow him and perfect his work, and soon after his death a man arose who was generally received as the head of the movement. This was Baha Ulla, the father of Abdul Baha.

Baha Ulla was a man of great wealth and high rank. He did not long keep either, for the Persian government, afraid perhaps to kill him, confiscated his goods and exiled him. "Thank God, I am now free," cried Baha Ulla when he heard that all his wealth was lost. With the greatest suffering he and his family, with a band of followers, made their way from Persia toward the coast. No sooner had they arrived than the Turkish government arrested them and threw them in prison at Acca. Baha Ulla never left the prison again, and Abdul Baha grew up and spent all his life there, until the "Young Turks" seized the government a few years ago and gave him his freedom.

At first the family suffered greatly, but by degrees, as the jailers saw that they were kindly and gentle people, they were given some privileges, so that friends could see them and the work could be carried on from the prison. Baha Ulla did a great deal to simplify the somewhat complicated and Oriental teachings of the movement. His son was accepted by all as his successor, although there is no theory of a priestly family which is to rule the Bahais.

At Abdul Baha's house in Acca all men are welcomed. Persian, African, Frenchman, American—they all meet as brothers before the master. He is the most generous

THE LATE DAVID H. FERRIS

and hospitable of men, and all are welcome to his table. He follows literally the Scriptural injunction to give his goods to the poor; the coat he wears is usually all he has.

Naturally, he is interested in the question of race prejudice in this country, where he has so many disciples. Recently he sent this message to one of them, Mrs. M. L. Botay, who has sent it to THE CRISIS:

"Give Mrs. Botay my greetings and love and tell her she must greatly endeavor through the assistance of heaven to cast light among the colored people, so that they may become as our brothers, no blacks, no whites, both as one. By this means you shall free America from all prejudice. Because in the Kingdom of God all are the same, whether black or white. The greater the faith of either, the more acceptable is he in the Kingdom. A faithful colored believer is a child of the Kingdom, while a white unbeliever is deprived. God looks upon hearts, not upon colors. He looks upon qualities, not upon bodies."

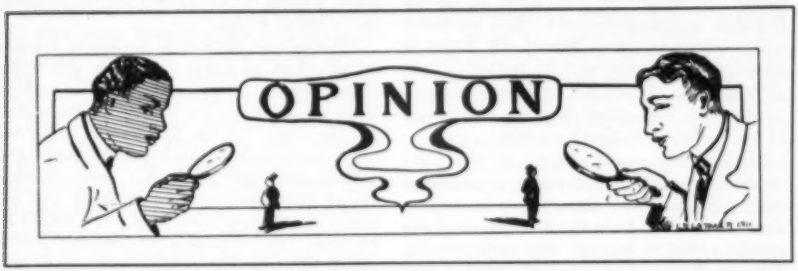
THE LATE DAVID H. FERRIS.

ON March 9 Mr. David H. Ferris, one of the well-known colored men of New Haven and a veteran of the Civil War, died of heart failure. For many years he had interested himself in the welfare of his people, and the tributes paid to his memory came from all classes of society. He was born in New York City sixty-seven years ago, and was the son of a Methodist preacher. His grandfather had escaped from slavery. David Ferris was only a boy when the war broke out, but he enlisted as soon as he could be received, and went South with a New York regiment. He was a man of great strength, as well as courage, and distinguished himself on several occasions. He served for some time in the far South, and after the close of the war did duty in suppressing the guerrillas. His son, William H. Ferris, is a graduate of Yale and Harvard Universities.

THE MILITARY ATTACHÉS TO LIBERIA.

THE military attachés of the United States legation who are to reorganize the Liberian constabulary have just sailed. They are headed by Captain Young, of the United States army, and with him go Dr. Wilson Ballard, who will rank in the Liberian army as major, and Mr. Richard H. Newton and Mr. Arthur A. Browne, who will rank as captains.

CAPT. A. A. BROWNE CAPT. R. H. NEWTON
MAJOR W. BALLARD



AN EX-GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA SPEAKS.

W. J. Northern, ex-Governor of Georgia, has been saying a great many good words for the Negro lately. We have just received in pamphlet form the address he delivered before the Evangelical Ministers' Association of Atlanta, in which he did not hesitate to say that the churches of the South had "greatly neglected" their duty toward the Negro.

"Bishop Haygood, a Christian minister whom I honored and greatly loved, was far in advance of his generation when he wrote 'Our Brother in Black,'" said Governor Northern. "Is the spirit and the matter of the book acceptable to the people at this day? Are we really related to the Negro as our brother in black, or our brother at all? It is up to the leaders of our spiritual life to bring us into a clear understanding of the brotherhood of man and teach us how to do unto others as we would they should do unto us, remembering, if we forgive not men their trespasses against us, neither will God forgive our sins. Here lies the whole trouble in the solution of the problem of the races, and I do not hesitate to say there is no class of our citizens better equipped to remove the difficulty than the Christian ministers I now have the honor to address. The problem is yours, and to you the spirit of the South must appeal."

Mr. Northern spoke of the economic service the Negro had rendered the South for generation after generation and of the effort to-day to drive him out of various lines of service. "Negroes in livery and Negroes without livery have been coachmen for white people at the South for hundreds of years," he said. "Since we have come into the higher elegance of automobiles, a neighboring city has declared that no car will have the advantage of garage keeping if driven by a Negro. In our own city, I understand, there is a strong combination determined to eliminate the Negro from this place of service. Let me say openly, in this high Christian presence, if we live in peace and prosperity, this forty-seven per cent. of our community life must be guaranteed protection in the lawful pursuit of such industries as will secure for them needed maintenance and an honest support, and comers and goers should not be allowed, in open and brutal violation of law, to force them to robbery and pillage for a living.

"I am in the profoundest sympathy with the efforts of organized labor to secure its legitimate rights in the government and in the community. No man in Georgia will go further than I to help to this end, but I am absolutely opposed to any open effort on the part of any body of people to destroy the rights of any other citizen or body of citizens simply to secure their own good. It seems we are no longer a government by the people, seeking the greatest good for the greatest number, but we are a government by classes, seeking the greatest good for our class, while we are absolutely regardless of whatever evil may befall all other classes. Capital is arrayed against organized labor and organized labor is arrayed against capital; organized labor is arrayed against unorganized labor, and both these against Negro labor, and so with all classes of our community life. Walton county farmers have now been notified that they will be allowed to keep their Negro labor for the gathering of their present crops, but that they must hire no Negroes for another year.

"Vagrancy is now one of the most dangerous tendencies of the times. Vagrancy is the breeder of crime. What will we do when one million Negroes in Georgia are driven into enforced idleness and loitering and

denied the opportunity to make an honest living in legitimate service? Such condition will multiply criminals beyond our power to punish or our inclination to reclaim."

Turning to the subject of lawlessness and the severity with which Negroes are treated in the courts, Mr. Northern said:

"During my recent canvass of the State in the interest of law and order, a prominent State official told me this story. He said, in a county not far from the place at which we stood, a Negro convict was unexpectedly discharged from a chain-gang sentence, and he promptly returned to his home in search of his wife and his children. The woman had been employed by a nearby white man as cook, and subsequently used by him as his mistress. When the Negro in his search appeared upon the scene, the white man promptly ordered him off the premises with the additional injunction to stay away. Later the Negro appeared in the cabin of his wife, and was observed by the white man. A difficulty ensued and the white man was wounded. The Negro escaped, but he was pursued by a mob and brutally lynched. Nobody ever challenged the gross immorality of the white man, nor did any officer of the law ever attempt to bring to punishment the murderous mob that slew the Negro for daring to protect his home against the assault of a degenerate white man.

"What body of men has ever made any attack upon the deadly pestilence shadowing the State and the Nation, because of the lecherous living and life habits of white men and Negro women? Suppose you count the mulattoes as they pass you upon the streets, or serve you in your homes, and you will then have some conception of the enormity of this awful and damning sin.

"When did the ministers of our city ever denounce this brazen iniquity?

"Our law has two distinct and successful methods for making criminals of Negroes—both negative in character, but forcefully positive in action.

"The first is the denial of an industrial institution or workhouse for young Negroes. The idle among them, with the incorrigible and the vicious, should be taken by the State and confined at some helpful service and kept there until they become fit to be put on the community again. The city of Atlanta is rearing a generation of young Negroes, both girls and boys, that will give great trouble at no distant day in criminal and vicious living.

"The second method is the entire absence of all effort at moral reform in our whole penal system. Our penitentiary is nothing more or less than an institution supported by the State for the graduation of its inmates as criminals. All the environment and management are hardening and damning rather than bringing to repentence and the desire for a better life. It is not a matter of surprise that criminals in Georgia return many times to the penitentiary when they have been confined there once.

"If the newspapers are to be credited, every Negro lynched or burned in Georgia makes from one hundred to one thousand murderous white men. The crowds doing these savage deeds have been estimated from one hundred to two thousand and five hundred strong. If during the last half century we have averaged twenty lynchings annually, and the average crowd doing the savage work should be estimated at two hundred, we have the appalling condition of one hundred thousand murderous white men loose in Georgia, not one of whom has ever been brought to trial and punished for the crime of murder. This statement may furnish one further means for determining the criminal population of our criminal State, as between Negroes and white men as to numbers."

DR. ABBOTT AND THE GOOD SAMARITAN.

Dr. Lyman Abbott's pronouncement that the parable of the Good Samaritan was designed to teach social exclusiveness was noticed in last month's CRISIS. Dr. Horace Bumstead, former president of Atlanta University, writes to the New York *Evening Post* about it and says:

"Dr. Lyman Abbott, in replying to an unknown friend in charge of a school, in a recent number of the *Outlook*, advises the exclusion of a Negro pupil, whose presence, on account of color, is objectionable to the other pupils. The peace and harmony of the school must not be imperilled by a quixotic attempt to vanquish race prejudice.

"In connection with Dr. Abbott's advice, it may be instructive to recall how Prudence Crandall met the same problem thirty years before the Civil War, in Canterbury, Conn. This young Quaker woman was conducting a girls' boarding and day school when

application was made for the admission of a colored girl, the daughter of a worthy and prosperous farmer of the neighborhood, and herself a member of the church in the town. No objection seems to have been raised on the part of the other girls, some of whom had already been her classmates in the district school, but the parents objected to having their daughters 'taught with a Nigger' in a private school, and threatened their withdrawal. Miss Crandall, after careful deliberation, decided to give up her white pupils, admit the colored applicant, and open the school to other colored girls. The town was stirred to indignation. Teacher and pupils were insulted on the streets. The school was boycotted at the village stores. Its well was polluted with filth. An attempt was made to burn the house. Finally, the legislature of the State passed its infamous 'Black law,' under which Miss Crandall was prosecuted and imprisoned and the school broken up.

"Quixotic? Yes, according to Dr. Abbott's teaching, and, judged by its immediate results, it may have been. But we must remember that Jesus has not escaped a similar charge, and that there are some reasons for still believing that—

'They win who with Him lose.'

Prudence Crandall won. The example of her moral heroism was a potent factor in making Windham County, where the incident occurred, the banner county in Connecticut in the subsequent struggle for human rights.

"Time has done much toward softening and removing racial and religious prejudice, but only because, in every age, some people have been willing to speak and act about it, instead of postponing its cure to an indefinite future. Jesus and Peter and Paul began 2,000 years ago. Yes, and the Good Samaritan, too, in spite of Dr. Abbott's remarkable suggestion that this traveler in Judea took the half-dead victim of the robbers to an inn —not, as we should have supposed, because the man might have been wholly dead if he had jolted him 'on his own beast' all the way to his Samaritan home, but—because he feared to disturb the peace of his family by exciting their racial and religious prejudice! It is difficult to believe that Dr. Abbott could have intended such a suggestion to be taken seriously."

ABOUT "UNLAWFUL TOLLS."

The Charleston *Messenger*, a colored paper of Charleston, S. C., quotes a remark from the *News and Courier* in regard to the effect that the Negro, "undisciplined and with a code of morals that is no code at all, levies his unlawful toll here, there and everywhere."

To this the *Messenger* returns: "If this charge is true, it is terrible no less for the white man than for the Negro himself. The question comes then what is to be done? And who is to do it? What is the strong race which the *News and Courier* represents doing to better the condition of the hopeless Negro? Here are some of the things: In Charleston, a city of thousands of Negro children, the most rudimentary school facilities are supplied for a few hundreds. A few weeks ago a colored clergyman of the city, realizing it to be his duty to do all in his power to relieve the conditions complained of, asked the city council to give him a beggarly sum of money and piece of land to start a school for Negro children of the city. Of course, he was promptly turned down. During the session of the last legislature a measure to appropriate a pitiful $1,000 to install a heating plant in the one so-called 'college' that the great State of South Carolina inadequately maintains for the instruction of all her Negro youths only passed by the skin of its teeth. So it goes ad infinitum, but what is the use of multiplying instances?"

LYNCHING.

The New York *Evening Post* thus sums up the month's lynchings:

"'Dismissed in Court—Lynched'—thus a headline in to-day's news. Judge Lynch wanted to shed blood at Shreveport, La., and so another innocent Negro was killed. But that is not the only place where the innocent suffer. The Memphis *Commercial-Appeal* tells of a case at Starkville, Miss., where an hysterical woman was 'frightened without cause' by seeing a Negro, who promptly went to a white neighbor and protested his innocence. That neighbor, like the coroner's jury, was satisfied of it, but 'eight prominent citizens' shot him to death while he was 'cutting timber in the woods.' Strange as it may seem, they are to be arrested for murder. At Nashville Governor Hooper has just pardoned a Negro who has served a year on a charge of rape, because the attor-

ney-general of Tennessee has 'learned that the testimony upon which the conviction was had was wholly unreliable.' He is now fully convinced that the prisoner is innocent. Blacksburg, S. C., is again reported 'quiet after lynching two Negroes' who forced a white man 'to drink whiskey'—not usually an indictable offence. In Marianna, Ark., a planter killed three Negroes in a dispute as to when they should return to the plantation from town. Unfortunately, he also shot a white man in the leg, and so he is under arrest. But why should he be prosecuted for wanting to be Judge Lynch all by himself?"

COLORED FOLK IN THEATRES.

Some comment has followed the victory of the New York Vigilance Committee of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in securing the conviction of a theatre-ticket agent who refused to admit a colored man and woman to the orchestra seats. "The decision of three Special Sessions judges yesterday that a Negro buying seats in the orchestra of a theatre is entitled to use them is significant," says the New York *Evening Post*, "chiefly because it is in line with an effort—strongly urged by Miss Jane Addams among others—to secure the enforcement of the civil-rights laws on the statute books of this and other States. These laws, expressly passed to insure their rights to the freed slaves, are being deliberately violated, with the usual result that they are brought into contempt. The district-attorney's office has apparently not for years appreciated that discrimination of this kind violates the law."

The New York *Times* takes a different view. "Probably the theatrical managers," it remarks, "would admit Negroes to orchestra seats as readily as white persons, if it were found profitable. It is a matter of business with them, not of prejudice. But, if compelled to admit Negroes, they would find that the prejudice of white patrons deprived them of their profits. This would amount to confiscation and an invasion of the rights of private business."

The Macon *Telegraph*, before the case was finished, hoped it would be admitted that it would "ruin business" to admit colored persons to orchestra seats, and that they would be frankly "not allowed" downstairs in New York playhouses. "It is time to end dishonest subterfuge," it says.

A BLACK MADONNA.

The *Ladies' Home Journal* publishes a letter of Mark Twain in which he praises a picture of Joan of Arc and speaks of artists who spoil the Virgin Mary by making her fair "and *white*, which she wasn't."

His daughter Jean saw the letter before it was posted and withheld it, telling her father that he must change something in it. Mark Twain inquired as to the change:

"You have said the Virgin Mary was not white.

"Very well!

"But it's shocking. The idea of saying the mother of the Saviour was *colored*. It is sacrilegious."

"Nonsense" laughed the father. "In Mary's day only one-tenth of the world was white, and to-day over one thousand of the fifteen hundred million are colored."

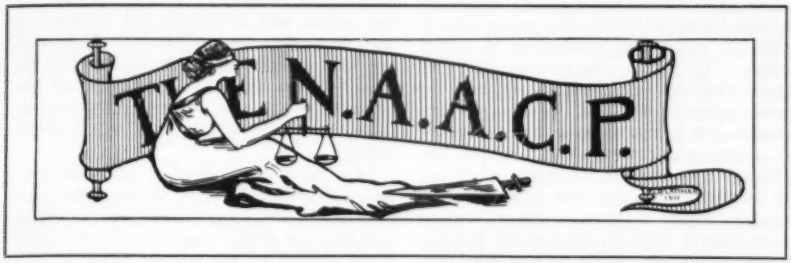
But the daughter insisted that her father must change the "revolting" statement.

Mark Twain answered:

"My dear, I won't. To my mind one color is just as respectable as another; there is nothing important, nothing essential about a complexion. I mean, to *me*. But with God it is different. He doesn't think much of white people. He prefers the colored."

THE EMANCIPATION EXPOSITION.

The passing by the Senate of the bill providing for a Negro exposition in 1913 leads the Atlanta *Constitution* to point out that it has always favored the project. "Our one reservation was that the exposition should stress the practical, and not the theoretical, side of Negro achievement and the Negro's need. Of those things which revolve around hypothesis, and which help a scant 10 per cent. of the race, there is a surplusage. There is little enough said and done touching the factors that may fit the great unequipped 90 per cent. for the tasks that now go begging." The Chicago *Record-Herald* thinks that there should be no opposition to a celebration of the downfall of slavery—"from the ruins of that wrong institution the new South has emerged, thriving, contented and purified," while the Philadelphia *Inquirer* remarks, patronizingly: "The Negro has been improving right along, is gaining everywhere insofar as he uses industry and such intelligence as he possesses."



THE question of the election of Mr. W. H. Lewis to the American Bar Association is still under fire. Learning that Mr. John Harsen Rhoades, a prominent New York banker, had protested to the American Bar Association against the action of the executive committee, we secured Mr. Rhoades' permission to print his letter. It runs as follows:

"March 15, 1912.

"Stephen S. Gregory, Esq.,
"President American Bar Association.

"Dear Sir:

"If I am correct in assuming that the American Bar Association aspires to deserve public esteem, and since its act may establish a doubtful precedent, on the basis of broad citizenship I feel it my privilege to protest against such an extreme example of race prejudice as that involved in the rescission of the membership of Mr. William H. Lewis. Such discrimination is obnoxious to lovers of fair play, alien to the American spirit, and from the humanitarian standpoint indefensible.

"I can appreciate why objection might be raised to Mr. Lewis' membership in a purely social organization, but it passes understanding why he should be excluded from such a body as the American Bar Association, a professional league of semi-public character and national scope.

"Were Mr. Lewis a banker, I would welcome him to membership in the American Bankers' Association, because I believe the real purpose of such an organization to be, not social, but utilitarian. Too much diversion and too little attention to achievement is the weakness in all such organizations to-day.

"It would be humiliating indeed were we forced to concede that the American Bar Association is so narrow as to ostracize an individual because he happens to be one-eighth black. I do not ask for social comradeship, but for interprofessional courtesy in recognition of attainment.

"The American Bar Association would lose nothing by maintaining in membership one who has succeeded in his profession against tremendous odds, and by his exclusion misses a golden opportunity to exhibit a keen sense of justice.

"Yours very truly,

"JOHN HARSEN RHOADES."

W. R. MORRIS, OF MINNEAPOLIS
Member of the American Bar Association

The April CRISIS contained an article on Richard Lonsdale Brown, the young colored artist of whom the association is justly proud. The article was written for THE CRISIS and the New York *Times*, and the *Times* printed it at a most opportune moment, just before the artist's exhibition of his paintings. During the week of the exhibit, March 18 to 23, the gallery of Ovington Brothers Company was crowded every day, so crowded on some of the afternoons as to make a view of the pictures difficult. It is estimated that 2,500 persons saw them. Twenty-six pictures were for sale and sixteen were sold, besides a number of little sky sketches which many persons bought as souvenirs. Among the purchasers were Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, Mr. Warburg, Mr. Coster and Miss Mary Garden. The young artist received $1,000 for his work. He plans to remain in New York for a year, but will put aside a part of this fund for study abroad.

Mr. C. Ames Brooks, acting for the Legal Aid Committee of the National Association, sends us the following report from Baltimore:

"April 1, 1912.

"Gentlemen:

"After numerous conferences relative to the Baltimore segregation ordinance had to-day with Mr. W. Ashbie Hawkins, representative of the prosecuting attorney, and Judge Elliott, of the Criminal Court, I have to present the following report:

"Mr. Hawkins has now on hand two cases involving the constitutionality of the above ordinance, and so far as he knows they are the only cases now pending in Baltimore. The first of these cases is of a civil nature, involving a petition by a colored resident for an injunction to restrain the police department from enforcing certain parts of the ordinance. This case has now gone too far to permit the raising of the direct question of invalidity before the writ issues.

"The other case is a criminal one, and arises out of the arrest of a colored man for an alleged violation of the ordinance. This is the case upon which Mr. Hawkins is relying to make a test case. No proceedings have yet been taken, but we have decided to move the case for trial at once and raise the constitutional question of invalidity at the opening by a motion to quash the indictment. The prosecuting attorney states that this course will be satisfactory to him, as they are anxious here to have a decision soon one way or the other. The case will probably be tried before Judge Elliott, of the Criminal Court, who enjoys a high reputation here as an excellent and unprejudiced judge.

"An alternative method of procedure presented itself, which was to have the proceedings in the court below merely formal and have the matter passed on by an immediate appeal to the highest court of the State. We have dismissed this alternative after due deliberation, on the ground that the appeal could not be heard before next October, thus causing great delay, and on the further ground that a carefully considered decision by a local judge immediately would have a much more beneficial effect, as the issue is purely a local one. This result would be reached by concentrating our efforts on the argument in the trial court, and should the outcome be unfavorable, we can then resort to an appeal in any event.

"Regarding the ordinance itself, we are of the opinion that the spirit of it is repugnant to the Constitution, though it is very cleverly drawn. Before any fair-minded court it would probably meet the fate of its predecessor. In the meantime, citizens, both white and colored, are coming to look upon it with disfavor, as, while it affects the rights of the Negroes directly, it is also having a bad effect upon real-estate values in large sections owned by whites, who formerly rented to Negroes, and who are now unable to do so under its provisions.

"Yours very truly,

"C. AMES BROOKS."

During the past month the assistant secretary has spoken at meetings in Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington. In Philadelphia the Rev. K. E. Evans arranged that she should speak at the Girard Avenue (formerly Spring Garden) Unitarian Church. At this meeting Dr. Mossell was present and gave an interesting account of the fight against segregation in the public schools. She spoke, also, before the Sunday school of the Kenneth Israel Congregation.

As a result of the splendid Washington meeting, reported in the Easter CRISIS, preliminary steps were taken on March 20 to

form a District of Columbia branch, with the following officers:

President, Rev. J. Milton Waldron.
Vice-President, Mrs. Mary Church Terrell.
Secretary, Mr. B. G. Brawley.
Treasurer, Prof. George M. Cook.
Chairman of the executive board, Mr. L. M. Hershaw.

The branch will send its constitution to the national board of directors, to be voted upon by them; then it will be admitted to membership. The net proceeds of the meeting, amounting to $98 besides THE CRISIS subscriptions, the organizer of the meeting generously forwarded to the headquarters of the National Association. Professor Spingarn, whose stirring account of the work of the New York Vigilance Committee aroused tremendous enthusiasm, spent the next day in Washington, speaking in the various departments of Howard University and also at the M Street High School.

In Baltimore a small but deeply earnest group of people met the assistant secretary and discussed with her the work of the association. On April 2 their constitution, modeled after the constitution of the Boston branch, was submitted to the board of directors of the National Association and was accepted by the board. Baltimore is now a regular branch of the association. Its officers are:

President, Dr. F. N. Cardoza.
Vice-President, Mr. J. Clarence Chambers.
Secretary, Prof. Thomas W. Turner.
Treasurer: Mr. E. B. Taylor.

The members of the executive committee are: Mr. Garnett R. Waller, chairman; Mr. W. Ashbie Hawkins, Dr. Thomas S. Hawkins, Prof. George B. Murphy, Dr. H. J. Brown and Mr. W. L. Fitzgerold.

On April 11 a public meeting was held in the Rev. Harvey Johnson's church, under the auspices of the Baltimore branch. Every seat was taken and many stood throughout the meeting. Mr. W. Ashbie Hawkins presided, and the speakers were Dr. Du Bois, Miss Ovington and Dr. J. O. Spencer, president of Morgan College, Baltimore, a school for Negroes. The two representatives of the National Association gave a full account of its scope and work, and Dr. Spencer, in a ringing speech, expressed his admiration for the Negroes' achievements and his sympathy for them in their struggle for human rights.

The next morning twenty prominent Baltimore colored women met the association's secretary at the house of Mrs. Hawkins, and passed a resolution, to be presented at the next branch meeting, that a committee on education be at once appointed by the branch. This committee should at once investigate and strive to improve conditions in the public schools and should endeavor to secure entrance for colored students in the city's private colleges. The discussion brought out the fact that two of Baltimore's famous institutions of learning violate the wills of their founders in drawing the color line. It is evident that the Baltimore branch will assist the National Association by obtaining a large membership and will do valuable and aggressive local work.

Nineteen members joined the association in March, paying $51 in memberships. Six were from New York, three from Massachusetts, three from Pennsylvania, and one each from Arkansas, District of Columbia, Georgia, Illinois, Missouri, New Jersey and Tennessee.

The last week of March the director of publicity and research made a short Western trip, speaking before large audiences at Painesville and Lorain, O., and in Indianapolis.

The *News*, of Bangor, Me., says of the chairman of our association's board of directors: "Oswald Garrison Villard, the publisher of the New York *Evening Post* and a grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, the famous abolitionist, is traveling through the North and organizing local societies in the big cities for the protection of the colored race against lynchings, burnings at the stake and other lawless outrages committed against the innocent blacks in this country. He contends that the black is the equal of the white before God and under the laws of most States. To hear Mr. Villard was to sympathize with him and indorse his position fully. The national association stands primarily for truth and knowledge, for simple justice to the colored population, for defense and protection against lynching and outrage. There is not a city of any size in the country which does not need a branch of this association. The branches should have their legal aid features and should be liberally supported by men and women who really believe in the principles of the American republic."

THE NEGRO CHURCH.

IT happens that during this month, in the North, West and South, there are meeting the ruling Methodist ecclesiastical bodies representing a membership of 1,175,000 colored Americans. Later, in midsummer, the Baptist conventions, which represent 2,300,000 members, will meet. These three and a half millions of people represent the great middle class of colored Americans. The lowest class of outcasts have never been reached; the highest class of the educated and thoughtful are being gradually lost. The great middle mass remains, and in 35,000 churches holding $57,000,000 worth of property they form a peculiar organized government of men. Under some fifty powerful leaders and thirty thousand salaried local preachers they raise and expend over seven millions of dollars a year.

Before such an organization one must bow with respect. It has accomplished much. It has instilled and conserved morals, it has helped family life, it has taught and developed ability and given the colored man his best business training. It has planted in every city and town of the Union, with few exceptions, meeting places for colored folk which vary from shelters to luxurious and beautiful edifices.

Notwithstanding this, all is not well with the colored church. First, its fifty leaders are in too many cases not the men they should be. This is not peculiar to the Negro church, but it is true to a larger degree than is healthful. We can point to pure-minded, efficient, unselfish prelates like the late Bishop Paine, the present Bishop Lee and J. W. White. We have men of scholarship and standing like Bishop J. Albert Johnson, and we have efficient men of affairs like John F. Hurst, M. C. B. Mason and R. H. Boyd.

The trouble is, however, this: there are too few such men. The paths and the higher places are choked with pretentious ill-trained men and in far too many cases with men dishonest and otherwise immoral. Such men make the way of upright and businesslike candidates for power extremely difficult. They put an undue premium upon finesse and personal influence.

Having thus a partially tainted leadership, small wonder that the $30,000 colored ministers fall as a mass far below expectations. There are among them hustling business men, eloquent talkers, suave companions and hale fellows, but only here and there does one meet men like Henry L. Phillips of Philadelphia—burning spiritual guides of a troubled, panting people, utterly self-forgetful, utterly devoted to a great ideal of righteousness.

Yet this is precisely the type for which the church—the white church as well as the black church—is crying. This is the only type which will hold thoughtful, reasonable men to membership with this organization. To-day the tendencies are not this way. To-day the church is

still inveighing against dancing and theatregoing, still blaming educated people for objecting to silly and empty sermons, boasting and noise, still building churches when people need homes and schools, and persisting in crucifying critics rather than realizing the handwriting on the wall.

Let us trust that these great churches in conference, remembering the leaders of the past and conscious of all that the church has done well, will set their faces to these deeds:

1. Electing as bishops and leaders only men of honesty, probity and efficiency and rejecting the noisy and unclean leaders of the thoughtless mob.

2. Weeding out the ministry so as to increase the clean apostles of service and sacrifice.

3. Initiating positive programs of education and social uplift and discouraging extravagant building and mere ostentation.

4. Bending every effort to make the Negro church a place where colored men and women of education and energy can work for the best things regardless of their belief or disbelief in unimportant dogmas and ancient and outworn creeds.

THE CONFERENCE AT CHICAGO.

IT looks as though the Fourth Annual Conference of this association at Chicago would be the greatest of any yet held. This is as it should be. At last the colored people of the land and their friends are going to have a free annual forum where they can speak like men, confer, and plan movements looking toward eventual emancipation from the galling slavery of the present.

Several times this has been attempted. Beginning in Philadelphia in 1830, there were a series of conferences up until about 1836, in which colored people and friends like William Lloyd Garrison discussed their ills. Then there was a lull until the conventions of 1847 at Troy, of 1852 at Rochester and 1856 at Chatham, Ontario. These were stirring meetings, where Frederick Douglass, John Brown and the great leaders of the day discussed emigration and revolt.

After the war came a series of meetings North and South, at Syracuse, at Nashville and at Washington. Then the mists of reconstruction discouragement bowed the millions down until 1890, when the Afro-American Council was born. This was a worthy organization, but after a struggle of fifteen years it was done to death in Chicago by a shameful conspiracy engineered by black men who were paid to make their fellows stop protesting. There were feeble attempts at resuscitation at St. Paul and Louisville, but the real revivification came when the Niagara Movement, a small group of determined men, met at Niagara in 1905 and voiced a stinging protest which is still echoing in the land. In vain was the movement slandered and misrepresented. It had to be listened to and it had large influence in the call for the Negro Conference in New York in 1909. Out of that conference grew the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

To-day we meet a fourth time. We meet to protest, but not simply to protest. We can point to deeds done, to plans carefully laid, to widespread cooperation and to THE CRISIS. We can point, too, to the word of Phillips:

The proper time to maintain one's rights is when they are denied; the proper persons to maintain them are those to whom they are denied.

EDUCATION.

THE fifteenth annual Conference for Education in the South was held in Nashville on April 3, 4 and 5. As usual, the colored people were not represented, save on the opening night, when, *mirabile dictu*, a delegation from

Fisk University occupied seats on the floor of the great convention hall, the gallery of which was crowded by at least 1,500 white students of the various educational institutions located in Nashville. This admission of Fisk in itself was a step forward, but no colored orator had an opportunity to plead for his race, and the Middle Tennessee Colored Teachers' Association met in the city simultaneously without a single representative of the conference appearing before these colored men and women.

But while the conference did not permit a representative of thirty per cent. of the people in whose behalf it is laboring to appear before it—there was considerable ill-feeling among the colored people in Nashville prior to the convention when this became known—it is undeniable that there was greater freedom of speech allowed at this conference than at any other. The plea for universal education for all children, black or white, was heard at almost every session, and there were two very interesting subconferences on the education of the Negro, presided over by Dr. James H. Dillard, the executive secretary of the Slater Fund and Jeanes Foundation, whose work on behalf of the Negro deserves the highest praise. He stated, among other things, that while it was the fashion in the South, and rightly so, to praise the old-time Negro mammy, he thought that the splendid devotion of the colored women now working in the schools for their race was still more worthy of recognition and praise.

The national association was represented at this conference by its executive chairman, and Dr. Dillard agreed to co-operate with the association and other agencies in compiling a list of the worthy, and also another of one of the unworthy, schools for the Negro in the South of the college or industrial type.

It was interesting to note the eagerness to discuss the question of Negro education by the Southern white men and women who participated. One of the ablest of the latter made a plea that if an organization for the supervision of the Negro schools were established the colored men should have equal participation with the white. For, she said, being herself disfranchised and belonging to a sex whose interests in public matters such as schooling had heretofore been administered by men who did not represent her sex, she could sympathize with any colored man who felt that he ought to have a hearing where the interests of his race were being discussed and managed.

One of the most significant addresses of the main conference was delivered on the last evening by Mr. W. D. Weatherford, of the national committee of the Y. M. C. A., on the education of the Negro in the South. It is so admirable a statement of the case that the national association expects to reprint it as one of its leaflets. His statement that young college men in the South in increasing numbers are devoting themselves to the work among the colored people was most encouraging to hear. Indeed, the whole tone and nature of the conference, despite the exclusion of Negro delegates, showed that in the South, too, progress is being made in the right direction. Ten years ago nobody dared advocate universal Negro education without apologizing for it. Any Southerner who advocated educating the Negro had to apologize for doing so. Nobody thought of apologizing at Nashville, and fifteen years hence, we trust, it will seem perfectly natural to have colored men speaking for their race at all these gatherings.

THE BAR AT THE BAR.

IN seeking to defend their indefensible position the executive committee of the American Bar Association has declared that the election of a colored man to membership was a new and

unprecedented action. This is flat untruth.

There are to-day Negro members of the American Bar Association and there were such members before Mr. Lewis was elected. We present in our columns this month the picture of a gentleman who is a member of the Bar Association and whose name appears printed in their reports. Mr. Morris is a dark-brown man whose identity with the Negro-American is as unquestionable as is his high standing at the Minnesota bar.

Not only has Mr. Morris been a member of the Bar Association for some years, but another colored man, Mr. Butler Wilson of Massachusetts, was elected to membership at the same time with Mr. Lewis and was a member of the local entertainment committee that welcomed the association to Boston.

Attorney-General Wickersham has brought these facts to the notice of the secretary of the Bar Association and also pointed out some peculiar discrepancies in the printed record of members. Does this perturb the nimble Mr. George Whitelock? Not in the least. The same gentleman who wrote originally "No person whatever of another race (i. e., than the white race) has been elected to membership," with great dignity says "I shall investigate the facts." Three weeks later he has "confirmation of your recent statement," but—and we commend this severe and subtle logic to the groundlings—"I do not understand that you claim to represent Messrs. Wilson and Morris, but that in connection with your espousal of the cause of Mr. William H. Lewis you direct attention to them, upon the theory that there has been undue discrimination against Mr. Lewis. His status has induced the series of your letters to me beginning on January 24, 1912. You are already aware that there was no declaration in the Lewis instance of ineligibility of colored men to membership in the association, but only a recision of the particular election by the committee, which had occurred without knowledge on its part of the candidate's race—regarded as a material consideration in electing." We are free to say that this logic seems to us unanswerable.

LYNCHING AGAIN.

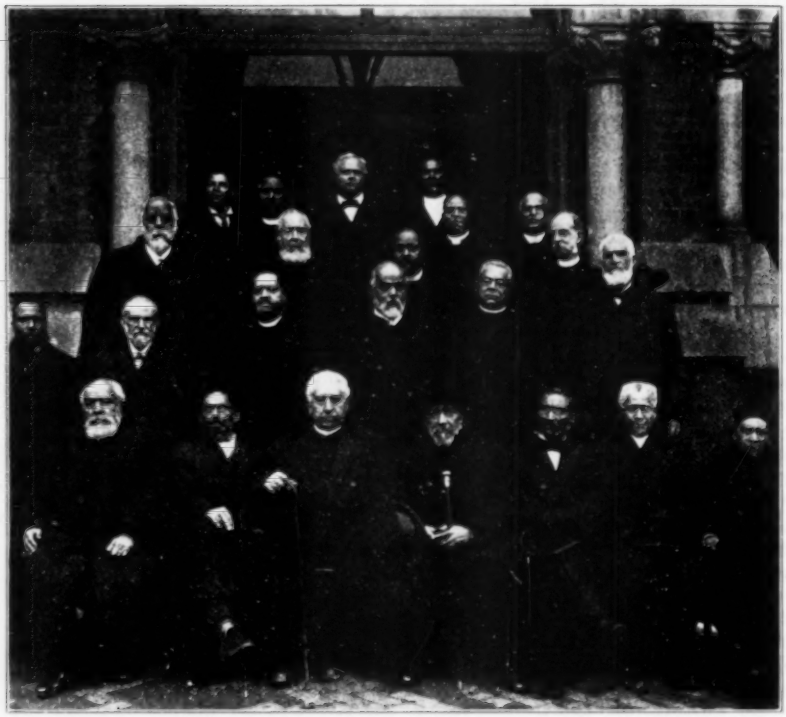
IN another column we quote from ex-Governor Northern a statement worth repeating, that there may be "one hundred thousand murderous white men loose in Georgia, not one of whom has ever been brought to trial and punished for the crime of murder. This statement may furnish one further means for determining the criminal population of our criminal State, as between Negroes and white men as to numbers."

Despite this wretched state of affairs our appeal to President Taft brings this reply from the United States Department of Justice:

"Through reference from the President the Department is in receipt of your letter of the 16th instant transmitting copy of resolutions concerning mob violence adopted by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at a mass meeting held in New York City November 15, 1911.

"There is no authority in the United States Government to interfere because the parties committing such crimes violate the laws of the State where the offense is committed and are punishable in its courts having jurisdiction of the offense. The Federal authorities are not authorized to intervene unless it be for the purpose of protecting a citizen in the exercise of rights which he possesses by virtue of the Constitution and laws of the United States."

Well, in the name of justice, what rights does an American possess "by virtue of the Constitution and laws of the United States" if it is not the right not to "be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law" as the Fifth Amendment guarantees?



JOINT BOARD OF BISHOPS OF THE THREE COLORED METHODIST DENOMINATIONS WHICH MET AT WASHINGTON, 1907

THE NEGRO-AMERICAN CHURCH

THE editors of THE CRISIS have asked four leading churchmen representing the four largest denominations among colored people to give THE CRISIS a statement of the present condition of these churches. All have complied except in the case of the Zion Church; the notes concerning that church and the smaller denominations were prepared in this office.

The Christian Church did but little to convert the slaves from their Obeah worship and primitive religion until the establishment of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, in 1701; this society and the rising Methodists and Baptists rapidly brought the body of slaves into nominal communion with the Christian Church. No sooner, however, did they appear in the church than discrimination began to be practised which the free Negroes of the North refused to accept. They therefore withdrew into the African Methodist and Zion Methodist Churches. The Baptists even among the slaves early had their separate churches, and these churches in the North began to federate about 1836. In 1871 the Methodist Church, South, set aside their colored members into the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, and the other Southern churches drove their members into the other colored churches. The remaining Northern denominations retained their Negro members,

but organized them for the most part into separate congregations.

Practically, then, the seven-eighths of the whole Negro population is included in its own self-sustaining, self-governing church bodies. Nearly all of the other eighth is economically autonomous to a very large degree.

The African Methodists.

The most compact and powerful of the Negro churches is the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Its membership has grown from 42 members in 1787 to 200,000 members in 1876 and 494,777 members in 1906. It is governed by a board of bishops, fifteen to eighteen in number, over whom the senior bishop, at present the Rt. Rev. Henry M. Turner, presides.

The church has 7,000 local organizations, with property worth over $11,000,000. It raises about $2,000,000 a year; of this about $800,000 goes to pastors, $200,000 to bishops and presiding elders, and the other million to schools, missions and general expenses.

There are two publication houses, weekly papers and a quarterly magazine and some publication of books. The church supports over forty schools, of which the largest and oldest is Wilberforce University, in Ohio.

The church, however, is chiefly noteworthy on account of its board of bishops. These bishops are elected for life by a general conference meeting every four years. The membership of the general conference consists of ministerial and lay delegates; the clerical delegates are elected from the annual conferences, one for every thirty ministers. Two lay delegates for each annual conference are selected by the representatives of the official church boards in the conference. Thus we have a peculiar case of Negro government, with elaborate machinery and the experience of a hundred years. How has it succeeded? Its financial and numerical success has been remarkable, as has been shown. Moreover, the bishops elected form a remarkable series of personalities. Together the assembled bishops are perhaps the most striking body of Negroes in the world in personal appearance: men of massive physique, clear-cut faces and undoubted intelligence. Altogether the church has elected thirty-five bishops. These men fall into about five classes. First, there were those who represented the old type of Negro preacher—men of little learning, honest and of fair character, capable of following other leaders. Perhaps five or six of the African Methodist Episcopal bishops have been of this type, but they have nearly all passed away. From them developed, on the one hand, four men of aggressive, almost riotous energy, who by their personality thrust the church forward. While such men did much for the physical growth of the church, they were often men of questionable character, and in one or two instances ought never to have been raised to the bishopric. On the other hand, in the case of four other bishops, the goodness of the older class developed toward intense, almost ascetic piety, represented pre-eminently in the late Daniel Payne, a man of almost fanatic enthusiasm, of simple and pure life and unstained reputation, and of great intellectual ability. The African Methodist Episcopal Church owes more to him than to any single man, and the class of bishops he represents is the salt of the organization. Such a business plant naturally has called to the front many men of business ability, and perhaps five bishops may be classed as financiers and overseers. The rest of the men who have sat on the bench rose for various reasons as popular leaders: by powerful preaching, by pleasing manners, by impressive personal appearance. They have usually been men of ordinary attainment, with characters neither better nor worse than the middle classes of their race. Once in office, they have usually grown in efficiency and character. On the whole, then, this experiment in Negro government has been distinctly encouraging. It has brought forward men varying in character, some good and some bad, but on the whole decency and ability have been decidedly in the ascendancy and the church has prospered.

The General Conference, which meets in Kansas City, Mo., May 6-27, is a quadrennial meeting having the highest legislative and judicial authority. Meeting as seldom as it does, it is necessarily a body of great importance. Its membership will be 522, consisting of the bishops, heads of general departments, presidents of colleges and ministerial and lay delegates representing American and African conferences. The revision of the discipline and the election of bishops and heads of departments will be the chief business of the session. In the former will be the provision for pensioning superannuated preachers, widows and children of

deceased ministers and support of missionaries. There are upward of 1,000 dependents who must be adequately provided for. The publishing interests of the church will be brought up in a resolution to combine the management of the Nashville and Philadelphia houses.

The missionary work in West Africa will call for readjustment, while the home work will call for more definite attention.

The distribution of the "dollar money," i. e., the $1 per year required of each member, will be so readjusted as to allow a larger percentage to preachers' aid. Preparation for the celebration of the centennial of the church will occupy some attention. This will probably be held in Philadelphia, where the church was founded. An effort will also be made to relieve the various editors of church publications of business responsibilities and also to create a position of general editor of Sunday-school literature, as distinct from secretary of the Sunday School Union.

Five bishops will probably be elected. For election to the bishopric there are not less than fifty men who are mentioned, representing varied degrees of culture, education, moral character, Christian piety, executive ability and successful pastoral records. Those who seem to be in the lead are: M. M. Ponton, president of Campbell College, Mississippi; D. P. Roberts, of Illinois; John Hurst, financial secretary, of Maryland; J. M. Conner, of Arkansas; T. N. M. Smith, of Georgia; W. W. Beckett, missionary secretary, and Dr. H. T. Kealing, president of Western University, Kansas. For heads of departments most of the present officers will be re-elected.

The Methodists.

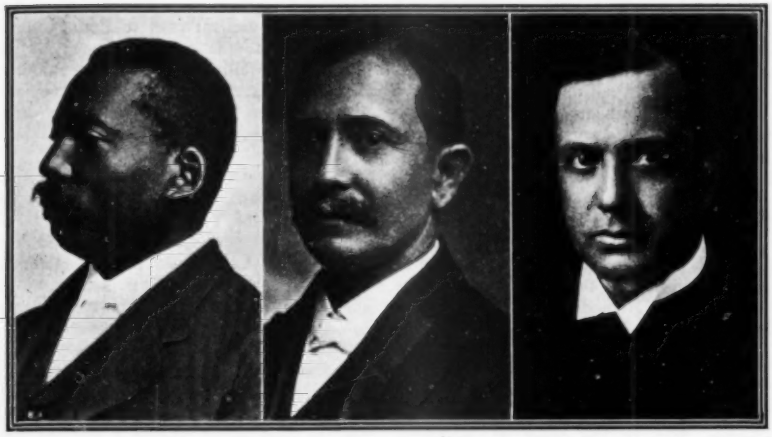
One of the largest Protestant denominations of America is the Methodist Episcopal Church. It has missions in all parts of the world, and its membership aggregates three and one-half million. As an integral part of this great church there are three hundred and twenty-five thousand American Negroes. These colored members have constitutional rights and privileges equal with the white members, and the basis for representation in the General Conference is the same for all races.

At the forthcoming General Conference, besides the white and colored American races, there will be Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, Europeans, East Indians and Mexicans. The Negro conferences, twenty in number, will have ninety-two delegates out of a total of eight hundred and twenty. The standing committees, which have about two hundred and fifty members, include forty Negroes. In several of the committees Negroes serve as secretaries. Indeed three of the assistant secretaries of the General Conference are Negroes and upon every important committee, save one, the Negroes have representatives.

The three hundred and twenty-five thousand colored members, mentioned above, are organized into twenty conferences, with two thousand one hundred and seventy-nine ministers. The twenty conferences have church property valued at $6,347,727 and parsonages, with a value of $860,221; a total wealth in probable property values alone aggregating $7,200,943.

Nine Negroes of the church are general officers of the General Boards. These are Bishop I. B. Scott, Dr. M. C. B. Mason, secretary of the Freedmen's Aid Society, Dr. R. E. Jones, editor of the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, and six others. These men receive an average salary of $2,233.33 and traveling expenses. Besides these officers there are eleven university, college and academy presidents and principals, and two hundred Negro professors and teachers in twenty-three schools. The enrollment of these schools for 1911 was seven thousand one hundred and thirty and the twenty-three colored conferences contributed $26,785.50 to education, besides $134,086.10 paid in by the students for tuition, board and other expenses.

Many and varied problems will face the General Conference when it meets at Minneapolis this month. Among the questions to be discussed will be the amusement problem and the time limitation of the pastorate. The question, however, which overshadows all others is that of the Episcopacy. There is a sentiment in favor of increasing the effective bishops; indeed some have advocated an increase by the number of twelve. In the discussion of the Episcopacy the question of a colored bishop must necessarily be considered. Since 1872 the Negro members of the church have contended for a bishop of their own race, and the General Conference by resolution in 1896 and 1900



DR. M. C. B. MASON REV. E. M. JONES DR. ROBERT E. JONES
Prominent Candidates for the M. E. Bishopric

"recognized the need of such an officer" and added that "the time has come when such an officer might wisely and safely be elected." The whole question is an exceedingly "live wire." The *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, the official organ of the Negro constituency, has spoken strongly in favor of a Negro bishop, while four other influential church papers with white editors are advocating the election of a Negro to the bishopric.

In a recent editorial the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*, published in Chicago, says:

"It is to be hoped that the coming General Conference will show itself superior to the prejudice of race or color. The Negroes have, to our mind, three indisputable claims to consideration in the matter of their demands for bishops of their own race:

"First, the problem of the Negro is a problem by itself.

"Second, naturally the problem can be best interpreted by a capable Negro.

"Third, there are capable Negroes to interpret the problem."

Should a Negro be called to the Episcopacy of the Methodist Episcopal Church he will, in all likelihood, be Dr. M. C. B. Mason of the Freedmen's Aid Society, Dr. R. E. Jones of the *Southwestern Christian Advocate*, or Dr. P. O'Connell of Howard University.

The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church

Before the Civil War Negro Methodists in the South were members of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. In many instances slaves and slave owners worshipped in the same churches, and in those cases where separate church buildings were provided for the slaves the pastors and Sunday-school teachers were white. Negroes of exceptional gifts were sometimes ordained as local preachers, and allowed to administer the sacraments under the direction of their white pastors. Noteworthy among those white pastors of Negro congregations was Bishop William Capers of South Carolina, who walked from plantation to plantation establishing missions for the slaves, and counted that the greatest work of his long ministry. This inscription is on the modest shaft that marks his resting place:

"WILLIAM CAPERS, FOUNDER OF MISSIONS TO THE SLAVES."

After the sudden and sweeping changes in the social and political relations of the races following the war it became necessary to organize a separate church for the more than 100,000 Methodist freedmen. Accordingly the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South which met at Memphis, Tenn., in May, 1870, appointed a committee to confer with certain colored leaders with a view to organizing the col-

ored churches into annual conferences and ultimately into a General Conference. In December of the same year, after the organization of five annual conferences, a General Conference was called. Bishop Robert Paine of the Methodist Episcopal Church South presided. The organization was named the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. Two bishops were elected—R. H. Vanderhorst of South Carolina and W. H. Miles of Kentucky. Bishop Paine administered the right of ordination. By due process of law all church property that had been devoted to the exclusive use of the colored people was deeded by the Methodist Episcopal Church South to the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

According to the statistics of 1911, the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church ranks twenty-first in the order of churches of America, fifth in the order of Methodist Churches and third in the order of Negro Methodist Churches. It has two hundred and thirty-four thousand seven hundred and twenty-one members, two thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven churches, two thousand nine hundred and one ministers, five general officers and seven bishops. It has church property valued at $2,525,000, school property valued at $300,000, and a publishing plant worth $75,000.

The educational work of the church has experienced remarkable growth in recent years. The church supports four colleges and a number of secondary schools, and cooperates with the Methodist Episcopal Church South in the support of Paine College. When Governor Vardaman abolished the colored high school at Holly Springs, Miss., several years ago, Bishop Cottrell organized a church school in the same city, and has since collected from the Negroes of Mississippi more than $130,000 for buildings and running expenses. In a single rally in Alabama Bishop Williams raised $11,000 for Miles Memorial College, and in a few weeks after that Bishop Phillips raised more than $12,000 in Texas for Texas College, Tyler, Texas. Bishop Lane, who is now 78 years old, is still pushing the claims of Lane College, Jackson, Tenn. Because of the very poor public-school system for Negroes in Georgia, Bishop Holsey is urging the church to maintain a chain of preparatory schools. The Methodist Episcopal Church South contributes $20,000 a year to the educational work of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church. Considerably more than half of this amount goes to Paine College, Augusta, Ga., the school founded by the late George Williams Walker, and unique in that it has a faculty composed of colored and Southern white teachers, who work together harmoniously on terms of absolute equality.

Previous to the General Conference of 1910 the missionary work of the church was confined to the home field. At that conference a communication was received from the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, in session at the same time, proposing that the two churches co-operate in establishing a mission post in Africa. It was further proposed that a committee of two, consisting of a representative from each church, be sent to Africa as soon after the conference as possible for the purpose of finding a suitable location for the mission. Bishop W. R. Lambuth of the Methodist Episcopal Church South and Dr. J. W. Gilbert of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church were appointed to make this trip. They sailed for Africa last October, and are now in the Congo Belge, where in all probability the post will be established.

The General Conference does not convene until 1914; therefore there are no well-defined issues before the church at this time, but there is deep interest throughout the church in the issues that will come before the General Conferences of other Methodist Churches this year.

The Zion Church.

The A. M. E. Zion Church represents a revolt of the colored people of New York City against the discrimination in the Methodist Church. The revolt began late in the eighteenth century, but did not become complete until the election of the first bishop in 1820. The quadrennial session of the church takes place in Charlotte, N. C., May 1. The church has at present about one hundred and eighty thousand communicants, which is a falling off from its former membership. There seems to be a strong feeling that there is need of a radical reform within the church in several departments, especially with its financial affairs. Instead of having a central depository for all church funds, out of which the various departments receive their income, there has been in vogue a

system by which the church taxes go directly to the different departments. This involves a great deal of additional expense and great difficulty of supervision, and a large element in the church wishes to establish a central board. The support of the widows, orphans and superannuated preachers is another pressing matter which calls for attention.

It is also thought that some forward steps will be taken along the line of missionary enterprises. The educational work is perhaps the most satisfactory part of the work of the organization. Under the leadership of Mr. S. G. Atkins, the various schools and Livingstone College have increased in efficiency and strength.

There are eight bishops on the full board; the vacancies in the board will be filled and there is some demand for an increase in number. Probably this will not take place, as the church can scarcely afford it. Besides the bishops, there are to be chosen the editors of the weekly paper, the *Star of Zion*, and of one or two other periodicals.

Other Denominations.

Outside the five main denominations mentioned above there are one hundred and fifty thousand colored members of the Catholic, Protestant Episcopal, Presbyterian and other white denominations.

The status of the colored Catholic in the United States is not yet thoroughly settled, but it is improving. After the unsuccessful attempt of Father Slattery of Baltimore to push the cause of the colored people, the subject was dropped, but has been recently revived by the interest of Sister Katherine Drexel and others. There are now four colored priests, several schools and a growing number of churches.

The Episcopal Church has never been able to emerge from the slough of despond on this question into which its strong Southern constituency plunges it. Here is an old unusually intelligent colored membership with fifty or more well-educated priests. Over them are white bishops who (with a few exceptions) do not or cannot sympathize with their black membership or encourage their growth and development. A way out of this difficulty would be to have black bishops or at least black suffragan bishops. This is being urged, especially by Bishop Guerry in South Carolina, but the rector of St. Paul's, Charleston, says:

"A member of an inferior race to be bishop of the Church of God would detract from the prestige of every bishop, the authority of every priest, the confidence of every layman, and would lessen respect for the church on the part of every man, white or black, on the American continent. The victory of Johnson over Jeffries demoralized the Negro race in a noticeable degree: the White House-Washington incident created hopes that can never be realized, yet the honors accorded the Negro race in both of the above incidents are trivial and negligible compared with the delusive ambitions which would be inspired by the elevation of a Negro to the company of the Holy Apostles.

The Presbyterians as well as the Episcopalians have practically segregated all the colored members into separate churches; but the latter being largely self-governing have quite a number of virile churches, some splendid ministers, and considerable educational work in the South.

The *Twentieth Century*, a magazine published in Boston, has an earnest article on the race situation, and says: "The present relations of the races are intolerable; justice to both demands that the Negro be allowed to become the best possible Negro. This cannot be done where a dominant race demands servility. Negroes who wish to colonize should be assisted; and the impulse might be given where these crimes are permitted. When a proved assault on a white woman occurs, the Negro population could be compelled to move to a Negro settlement. Where an unmistakable assault on a Negro occurs, the white population could be transported to a white settlement. The States would soon learn to co-operate, because only a few applications of this remedy would be necessary to induce very different relations, and subsequent emigrations could be entirely voluntary. In a nutshell—bind each race to keep the peace!"

SELF-RIGHTEOUS EUROPE
AND THE WORLD

Correspondence with

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, D.C.L., Litt. D., LL.D., F.R.S.

Professor of Egyptology in the University of London

DEAR SIR: I write to thank you for having said all you have in "The Souls of Black Folk." I have long wanted to grasp the Negro problem, and your prudent, balanced statement is very helpful As I am a stranger, I must say what my point of view is. It is as an anthropologist and historian; my work for over thirty years has been digging up the civilization of Egypt. Many years ago, when president of the Anthropological Section, North British Association, I made native races the subject of that meeting, insisting on the iniquity of crushing lower civilizations by Europeanizing natives. Later I did the Huxley lectures on migrations, mapping all the movements from 0—1,000 A. D. in Europe. The subject of race mixture is of special interest to me, and only this autumn I was addressing London journalists on the subject by request. Excuse my saying so much, just to show you my standpoint: It is that of native culture and rights, without European uniformity.

Now I think it will be helpful to look at other cases which have some parallelism to the U. S. A. problem. Here in Egypt we have contact of many races. I will here only compare the native and the English. The difference of color is not much, a pure-bred Copt living indoors is lighter than I am living out of doors. There is no question of slavery giving a sense of inequality. There is no fear of yielding too much in a racial familiarity. All of these points are in favor of intercourse more than in U. S. A.

Yet the veil is almost as complete as you find it to be. There is practically no social intercourse. I only know of one house, long since closed, where an educated native could meet socially with educated Europeans. Officials of high standing may be invited just as officials, or very wealthy cosmopolitan natives because of their influence, but the well-educated native gentleman is unknown outside of his office. All English officials are required to travel first class to avoid even sitting with natives.

I only know of three mixed marriages with Christians. I doubt if the English partner was at all in the rim of society of her or his equals. Broadly, I should say that any marriage of English east of Greece would be a social bar; a Greek would be quite on the border line, depending on if they were brought up in England.

Now this being the case round the Mediterranean, how can you expect any better state of society in U. S. A.? The echo of slavery, the great difference of race and the pressure of the mulatto multitude must naturally make a thicker veil than even that of the Old World. I am not speaking personally in the least. I have had a black Indian parson living in my London house for weeks, with the greatest pleasure to us all. I am just inviting a Japanese professor to stay. But, as Berkeley said, "The facts are as they are, and the consequences will be what they will be." The facts are that the English race all over the world insists on the veil; and, least of all in U. S. A., can you expect to find a more liberal exception. So much for our faults or peculiarities.

Now let me turn to the Englishman's objections to the native. These will not necessarily apply in any case to the U. S. A. difficulties, but they will show what over here gives substance to this veil. I write from thirty years of close intercourse with my own workmen, of whom I am personally very fond, and who will come and join me anywhere to work with us.

No Egyptian trusts another. Cheating over every transaction is the rule; an illiterate native expects to be cheated over every

railway ticket he takes, over any telegram he sends. I have constantly found gross imposition going on. You must be hammer or anvil; and the native official of the smallest kind will bully when he can, or else cringe. Honest, self-respecting men are rare to meet. As soon as a native thinks that you have any kindness or consideration for him he at once tries to turn it into solid benefits, without the least notion that his doing so destroys the bond. I have learned to keep two entirely different manners for my men; as helpful and friendly as can be outside of the work, but on work the disobedience or any lie or cheating means instant dismissal, and no man dares to plead for another. This is the only road to respect and popularity.

Education of book and memory sort is an injury in most cases. It depends on ancestry; the Arab is generally spoiled by it, the Copt, with a hundred generations of literary ancestors, is generally benefited. I should say that some technical and trade teaching and hygiene would benefit all. Not more than 5 per cent. would be the better for reading and writing, just to supply the minor official staff, but no useless subjects should be taught. Not more than one in 1,000 would really benefit by higher education. To give more only produces a moral deterioration. Little ignoramuses, who are far below the ability of a small shopkeeper in England, will generally assume a complete equality, if not superiority, with a well-educated Englishman. It is their hopeless ignorance, which a little unfit schooling has only fostered. I often think that in England and elsewhere we most need in colleges a professor of ignorance, whose sole business would be showing the vast void in general knowledge, making students know how little they know, running over all the subjects that are not taught and making it felt how vast they are.

Perhaps you know that there is a profound unbelief in all our educational routine in England. Those who can detach themselves enough feel that much of the aim and more of the method is wrong. It is all constructed for easy examining wholesale. The head of one of our great universities said, after a talk about some cases: "Well, X makes one doubt whether education is of any good, after all." Education in the formal lines will no more clear the Negro problem than freedom or voting, and to hold it up as a certain panacea will only end in another collapse of deception.

Allow me to say—as a fellow teacher—what lines Egyptian experience would suggest. It may have a bearing on your problem.

Apart from reading the principles and underlying reasons of agriculture, elementary mechanics and the basis of political economy—that the maximum production must benefit all, and that production is more honorable than trading. For towns, mechanical teaching, instead of agriculture.

With reading, biography and history, rather than literature; lives such as Livingston and the engineers; later, Plutarch; of course, Bible is taken for granted. Later, history of nations, not politics or constitutions, but social and economic. An admirable book would be part of Martin Hume's "The Spanish People," 1901, showing how false economics, pride and bigotry utterly ruined Spain. Parts of Mommsen's "History of Rome," showing the hopeless decay of parties and the inevitableness of economic change, would be equally good. English history is less useful, because it does not yet cross such great economic collapses as those of Spain and Italy, and the lessons which are most needed are not so obvious. All political ideals and figureheads should be kept in the background. We want men to make the most of the earth, before they are fired to waste themselves and their fellows in vain vaporings by reading of Gracchus or Washington. I doubt if any political agitation has ever gained as much as it has wasted.

Now another line as to what may perhaps be the ultimate result of the Negro problem.

In Europe all migration for a thousand years was from the East; yet the color map of Europe shows an even grading from the tow-haired blonde of the North to the curly black hair and black eyes of the South. Climate has completely conquered race. In no land have two different races existed side by side for 1,000 years without fusion. I cannot therefore doubt that a thousand years hence there will be an evenly graded American, from a white North to a black South. The only rational course is to help nature and make it easy for inevitable changes to take place. How can this be done?

First the whites must be bought out, beginning with a State where there are fewest. In Ireland the policy of the last ten

years has largely succeeded, of a government loan to buy out landlords (at twenty-two years net rental), and to let to the tenant under government at a rental which will give proprietorship to the next generation. The educated men accustomed to business that are needed to carry out the details of management should be the successful Negroes of the North. Such a policy steadily carried on at every opportunity that offers, without any violence, would soon transform a State; the more were bought out the more would wish to leave. Looking at the rate of change in Ireland, I expect that the whole change in U. S. A. might be got through in a century, perhaps quicker.

Of course, all land acquired thus must be inalienable, especially to Russian Jews. A law that no colored man can raise money on security of land or stock would settle that. In Egypt the money lender was an awful curse. It was the extortions of Greek usurers that caused the Arabi rebellion. Mommsen gives an awful picture of the wreck of the world caused by Roman usurers. Here the matter has been set pretty straight by a government agricultural bank, which lends at low interest on land or crops. If the borrower fails, another native gets in, and the foreign leech is kept away. You would need such an agricultural bank to get rid of "furnishing" and "cropping."

In short, the example of other countries points to the policy of securing a State or a part of a State, solid black, no profits going to white men. Put all the pride of the Negro people into bringing that into the most successful economic condition possible. Make the prosperity of it the ambition of every Negro in U. S. A.; extend this system by land purchase and agricultural banks as quickly as it succeeds, but never in advance of the solid economic stability of what is already in hand. Leave politics entirely alone until economic success is assured. When such a State is in flourishing order, then its black leaders will take their seats at Washington like any other State representatives. To concentrate the Negro aspirations on steady economic success in their own hands seems—from the example of other lands—to be the real solution of the miserable result of past crimes.

I trust that you will forgive this intrusion of one who can only look on from a distance; but the comparison with proven conditions in other cases may have its uses. The one great lesson which all history seems to me to teach is that character and economics are the only real forces. No laws or politics can stop their action; and the hindrances which false legislation may impose for a time are less loss in the long run than the economic waste of any violent action.

Believe me,

Yours truly,

W. M. Flinders Petrie.

My Dear Sir:

I thank you very much for your letter of January 3 and for your kind words concerning my book. You will also permit me, I know, to comment on some of the matters upon which you have touched in your letter.

The Englishman's objection to the native sounds very familiar to me. I can see nothing in the objection except the very human dislike for cheating and ignorance and lack of self-respect. This objection is world-wide and age old. The great point is, however, how to meet it, and I am sorry to see that apparently you sympathize with methods of meeting it which have been, to my mind, only too much in vogue during the world's history—the stern driving of men, the denial of education, and the general assumption that men must remain as they are for an indefinite time. To all these I take very serious exception.

The direction of human beings in their work and development calls for ability and firmness, but does not call for that attitude which the white European and the white American take toward colored races. That attitude does not in the long run succeed in getting out of colored labor anywhere near the best that is in it. It engenders hatred, it leads to caste and disaster, and while it is based on a difference of character, it very easily is used on occasions when the only difference is a difference of color or form of nose.

In the matter of education, again I think you make a mistake in common with the modern white world. What you say concerning the spoiling of primitive peoples by education is exactly the same thing that was said and is said in the United States. To educate the Negro was to spoil the plough hand. Educated Negroes never could amount to anything, etc. I know distinctly

in my own case that there was strong advice given my parents and my people against educating me, and if your ideas had been carried out in the United States—and there are many people trying to carry them out—I should not be having the pleasure of communicating with you now. On the contrary, I should probably be the victim of that "manner" which you use to your underlings in Egypt. Whenever one tries by form of education to raise a people the percentage of failure and mistake is going to be large, but such failure is no argument against the attempt, and, on the whole, it has been possible in the past, and it is possible to-day by means of education, to enable a group to take a short cut across a thousand years of human culture and do in a generation what their fathers did in three or ten.

I have seen in the Negro race here in America a good many cases of moral deterioration arising from education. It has been proverbial in the United States, not simply with colored people, but with white people, that the "second generation" is very apt to be spoiled, sometimes utterly ruined. But this is no argument against education. I know, of course, that the people in England are revolting against the English method of education, and in that they show their sense. There is a large revolt in the United States. Our methods of education have got to be improved undoubtedly, but that does not mean that the basis of education will not be in the future, as it has been to some extent in the past, the training of thought and ability by means of the truth.

As to the course of study which you lay down for Egyptians, and which is quite similar to that which some people would lay down for my people in the United States, I object to it. I do not believe that "production" is more honorable than trade. Trade is production. I do not believe that any agricultural caste should be trained, and I do not believe that politics should be left out of the course of training. My thesis is proven, it seems to me, by applying it to the future of the Negro of the United States.

You believe that the best thing would be a sort of segregation of the black population in a few States, so that from this population would have a chance to develop to its best unhampered, and yet you wish that population to have no education in politics and to leave politics alone. This seems to me a most remarkable prediction. How is this State to support itself, to think its way through its great social problems, to supply itself with a governing class, and do the thousand and one things that a modern State ought to do, if its folks have no education in politics? Moreover, if this people do all these things, what is going to keep them from becoming the victims of the greed of their white neighbors just as soon as they have anything that those white neighbors want? Or, in other words, you suppose on the part of white people an unselfishness and a desire to guide and help other races which white people have never exhibited, save in very exceptional and individual cases. On the whole, their conduct with other people has been about as disgraceful a chapter in history as history affords.

Almost everything that you propose should be done for the colored people in this segregation they are already doing for themselves. They are buying land, and buying it without Government intervention, although Government intervention would greatly help them. They already have some forty banks which are supplying capital in small amounts, and they have, thank God, in spite of advice, too much sense to let politics alone, and it is their political power alone that keeps them from sinking to the state of the Egyptian fellahin.

I know you will pardon this frank expression of my views.

I beg to remain,

Very sincerely yours,

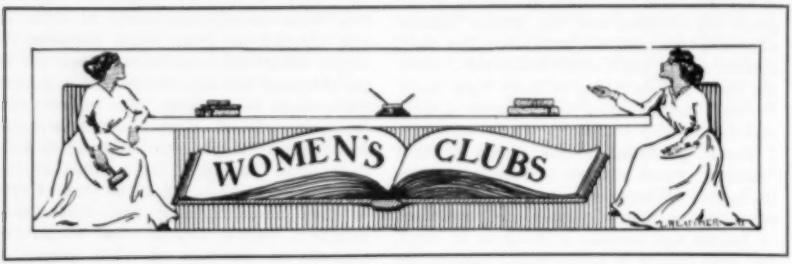
W. E. B. Du Bois.

* * * Now, you propose to quote some of my letter. So far as you may agree with any of it, pray do so. But I should be very sorry to appear as if defending a state of feelings and relations which I was only describing to you in order to point out that it is general, and not peculiar to your difficulties. I do not wish, therefore, to be put forward as opposed to any of the activities which you so earnestly desire. With my sincerest wishes for your progress in the great cause,

Believe me,

Yours very sincerely,

W. M. Flinders Petrie.



MRS. MARY B. TALBERT
President of the New York Federation

THE work of the New York Federation of Colored Women's Clubs is well worth noting. For many years there has been club work among colored women of the State. The Woman's Loyal Union has worked for twelve years or more under the leadership of Miss S. E. Frazier. The clubs have been federated for four years; for three of these years Mrs. F. R. Keyser, superintendent of the White Rose Home, was president.

These clubs have been engaged in work of various sorts. When the needs of Harriet Tubman, the heroine of the Civil War, became known, the federation appropriated $25 a month to pay for a nurse, in addition to furnishing a room. The White Rose Home for Working Girls was founded by the late Victoria Earle Matthews, and is now conducted by Mrs. Keyser. In the last fourteen years it has sheltered over 5,000 young women. The Dorcas Home Missionary Society, under Mrs. Alice Wiley Seay, has done a great deal of local charitable work.

The Susan B. Anthony Industrial Association, of Yonkers, N. Y., maintains a girls' friendly club, with classes in sewing and cooking, and gives a prize each year for the best essay on race history. The Y. W. C. A. is also a member of the federation, and provides a home for girls and religious service. It is hoping to erect a modern building soon.

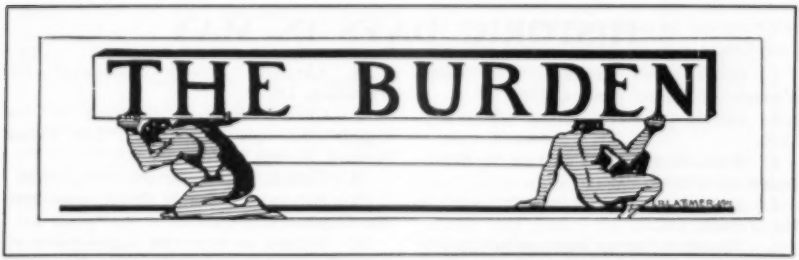
The Geneva clubs have been helping Southern education by sending clothing and maintaining scholarships. The Phillis Wheatley Club, of Buffalo, is working among neglected children and holding mothers' meetings. It has been active in placing books by Negro authors in the public library, and has the nucleus of a fund for establishing an old folks' home.

MRS. M. JACKSON STUART
Secretary of the New York Federation

The president of the federation is Mrs. M. B. Talbert, who has long been identified with every movement in Buffalo tending toward the advancement of her race. She is a member of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, an officer of the Graded Teachers' Union, and president of the Christian Culture Congress, all of these being white organizations. Mrs. Talbert was a member of the first committee, appointed fifteen years ago, for the suppression of vice in Buffalo, and succeeded in sending a woman officer to the police station to be present every day. She has twice represented the National Federation of Colored Women's Clubs before the National Council of Women. Under her administration the Empire State Federation has made notable progress.

Mrs. S. E. Wilkerson is vice-president of the State federation and is interested in charities in New York and Brooklyn. Mrs. M. C. Lawton, the State organizer, has done much to establish clubs and is correspondent on one of the Brooklyn daily papers. The secretary of the federation is Mrs. Marie Jackson Stuart, who is also a dramatic reader of genuine ability.

The White Rose Society Meeting Travelers



COLORED MEN LYNCHED WITHOUT TRIAL.

1885	78	1899	84
1886	71	1900	107
1887	80	1901	107
1888	95	1902	86
1889	95	1903	86
1890	90	1904	83
1891	121	1905	61
1892	155	1906	64
1893	154	1907	60
1894	134	1908	93
1895	112	1909	73
1896	80	1910	65
1897	122	1911	63
1898	102		
Total			2,521

IN A "JIM CROW" CAR.

General Passenger Agent, So. Rwy.,

Dear Sir:

I write to inform you of the very disgraceful conduct of one of your conductors, and to illustrate to you the almost helpless condition of colored female travelers over your line.

At 9:25 last Monday, December 18, I left Jacksonville for Washington, D. C. There were only two passengers in the colored compartment—a girl about 15 or 16 years of age and myself. As the train left Jacksonville I fell asleep, but was awakened by the voice of the girl, just before the train reached Walthonville station. To my

astonishment, I found the conductor sitting beside the colored girl, who was crying "Stop! Stop!" I was behind them, and walked up to the seat before the conductor saw me. I told him he ought to be ashamed of himself, being an old man and a white man, to say nothing of his position as conductor of the train. He replied, "Ashamed of what?" I said, "The way you were treating that girl." He merely said he "was just trying to tease her."

The girl said that the man came to her uninvited and asked her if she had a sweetheart. She said he was a white man and she thought she had to answer him, and so told him "No." Then he said, "I'll be your sweetheart," and sat down and tried to hug her. She said she turned her head toward the window and cried to him to stop. "But," she said, "he was so much stronger than I that I could not keep him off." It was her cry that awakened me.

I report this to you with the hope that you will investigate it and give this man proper punishment. This is not, I am sorry to say, the first case of this sort I have witnessed over your road, though I confess never to have witnessed anything similar over any other road.

Very respectfully,

THE WHITE MAN'S RESENTMENT.

SOME sort of a street quarrel occurred recently in Atlanta in which a white man and a colored woman were the principals. J. E. McJenkins, the man in the case, who had apparently gone to collect a bill, took offense at the Atlanta *Journal's* account of the disturbance and wrote a letter to the editor about it. "I approached the woman," he says, "and asked for what was due my company. She was very insulting from the beginning, and finally cursed me, using words not fit for publication. I did just as I believe any other white man would have done, resented the insult by striking her with the first thing I got my hands on."

HISTORIC DAYS IN MAY

1. Order given to create the Corps d'Armée of colored troops, 1863.
5. Congress declared slave trade piracy, 1820.
6. South Carolina put duty on the importation of slaves, 1703.
7. Toussaint L'Ouverture surrendered to the French, 1802.
8. Thaddeus Stevens began debate in Congress on the Fourteenth Amendment, 1866.
9. General David Hunter issued emancipation proclamation, 1862. John Brown born, 1800.
10. Resolution proposing Fourteenth Amendment passed the House of Representatives, 1866.
11. Slaveholders' convention at Vicksburg, Miss., favored the reopening of slave trade, 1859.
12. Louisiana adopted a revised constitution, 1898.
13. Robert Smalls took the Confederate steamer "Planter" to the Union fleet, 1862.
14. Total abolition of slavery in Brazil, 1888.
15. National Convention of France gave civil rights to mulattoes in Haiti, 1791.
18. Abraham Lincoln nominated for President, 1860.
19. Charles Sumner delivered in the Senate the speech entitled "The Crime Against Kansas," 1856.
20. Toussaint L'Ouverture born, 1743.
21. General Ulysses S. Grant nominated for President, 1868.
22. Bureau to supervise organization of colored troops established, 1863.
23. Assault made on Port Hudson, 1863.
24. William Lloyd Garrison died, 1879.
25. William C. Nell, Negro anti-slavery worker and author, died, 1874.
26. Boston town meeting favored abolition of slavery, 1701.
27. Toussaint L'Ouverture won his first battle, 1795.
28. Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Colored Regiment embarked for the South, 1863.
29. President Johnson announced his plan of reconstruction, 1865.
30. Employment of slaves as laborers in the Union lines authorized, 1861.
31. John A. Andrews, war governor of Massachusetts, born, 1818.

L. M. HERSHAW.

The Testing Fire. Alexander Corkey. The H. K. Fly Company.

This book is noteworthy for two reasons. First because it illustrates again how the race problem is furnishing material for modern literature, and, secondly, because it presents the point of view of a white non-American toward the color question in the United States. Mr. Corkey even after living some years in the South is still unable to justify the attitude of the white Southerner.

Here is a little anecdote in connection with this book. The reviewer happened the other day to be sitting in a car next to a young white girl who was deeply interested in a novel which proved to be "The Testing Fire." The following conversation ensued:

Reviewer—"May I ask you a question?"

Young White Girl—"Of course."

Reviewer—"Did you get that book in a public library, or did you buy it?" (This to find out how the book was selling.)

Young White Girl—"One of the girls in the store lent it to me. All the girls are reading it."

Reviewer (tentatively)—"Do you like it?"

Young White Girl—"Oh! I think it's grand!" (Hesitating a second.) "I think things would be a great deal better if everybody should read it."

Suppose all "the girls in the store" hold the same view. Great things have their rise in small beginnings.

The book is for sale in the book department of THE CRISIS.

The Curse of Race Prejudice. James F. Morton. Published by the author at 244 West 143d St., New York.

This pamphlet is the last word on the baselessness and silliness of race prejudice. The author does not deal simply with the discriminations made against colored people, but with the injustices which all peoples under the ban have to endure in this enlightened age. It is surprising to find how many of these peoples there are. It would be encouraging, if the results were not often so tragic, to realize that causes other than color are responsible for the unpleasant attitude of the so-called superior race. Sometimes it is race and sometimes it is religion and sometimes it is caste. The queer thing is that what arouses prejudice in one community produces no effect whatever in another. Mr. Morton's keen mind and trenchant tongue do not fail to make the most of the absurdities of this condition. Ridicule that is based on fact constitutes a very effective weapon.

The Lower Animal. Norman Duncan. *Harper's Magazine*, April, 1912.

Whoever reads this story, be he white or black, must wince, though for widely different reasons. One shrinks from the rôles of both master and man. To be a pitiful, abject, grovelling creature, or to be the force that transmutes human beings into this state—which is worse? There's a problem!

The Negro in Cleveland, Ohio. Frank U. Quillin in the *Independent* for March 7, 1912.

Mr. Quillin's little study is decidedly encouraging, even though a trifle patronizing. He shows that black and white Americans can live side by side in peace and comfort, and mutual self-respect. This article is one of a forthcoming series of articles on the condition of Negroes in Northern cities.

It is pleasant to note that the *Independent* in this same number voices its protest against the discrimination of the membership committee of the American Bar Association.

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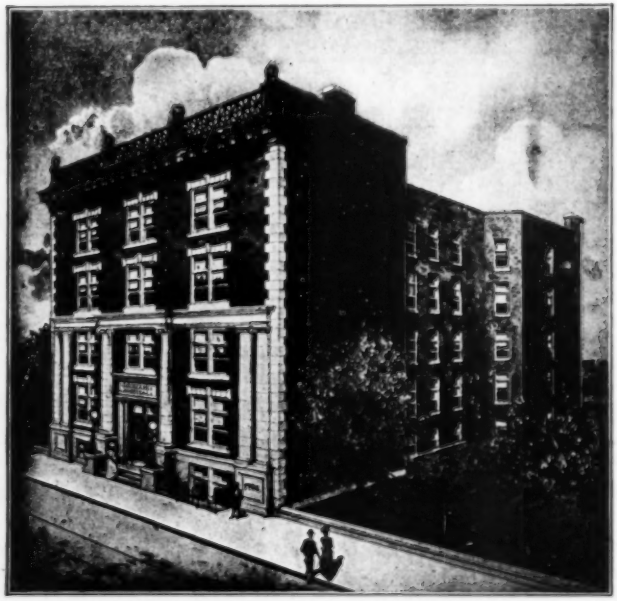

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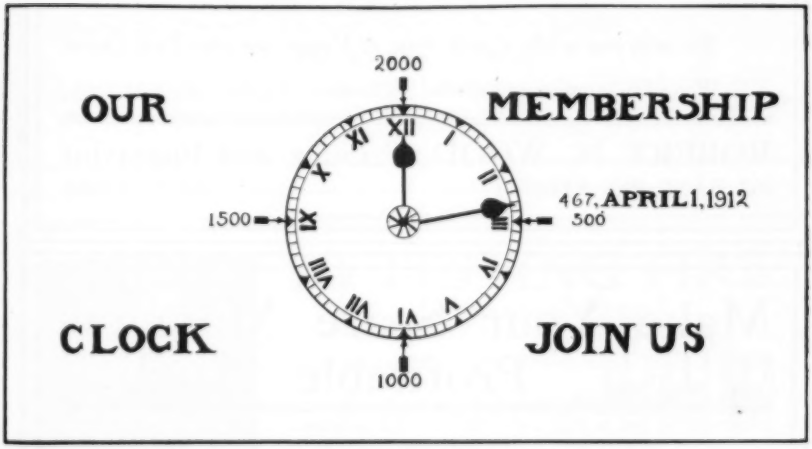

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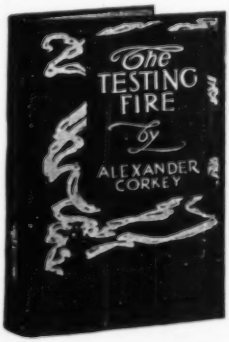

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